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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE HOUSEHOLD OF A TUDOR NOBLEMAN

BY

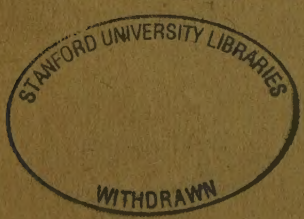
PAUL VAN BRUNT JONES

Associate in History in the
University of Illinois

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

CEDAR RAPIDS IOWA
THE TORCH PRESS
NINETEEN EIGHTEEN



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To my Mother
in her seventy-third year
I inscribe this little work
with love and reverence

PREFACE

In this study I have sought to describe the organization and management of one of the most remarkable institutions of Tudor England; the noblemen's households indeed, were central institutions in the life of that age, from whatever aspect — social, intellectual, economic, or other — it be viewed. The materials used, chiefly household accounts and regulations, have been those available in print; the titles are relatively few, but the content of most of the items is exceedingly rich; could they be thoroughly exploited, in fact, a very complete picture of English manners and customs, during that most fascinating period, could be drawn from them, since the Stewards or other responsible Officers set down in their books every expenditure, whether it were a progress with its lavish, costly outlay, or the purchase of a pipe for the household Fool. These documents overlap the Tudor period chronologically, Lord John Howard's Accounts beginning in 1462, while those of Lord William Howard of Naworth end with the year 1640; so little fundamental change was there, though, during the interval, in the methods of household management — tradition and dearly loved precedent ever working for uniformity — that the construction of a composite from them has been, I believe, a safe venture.

I began this study as a graduate student, and therefore it is not possible to thank here all those to whom I am deeply indebted for advice and other help. Especially, however, am I bounden to Professors Earle W. Dow, of Michigan, and Edward P. Cheyney, of Pennsylvania, for scholarly direction and criticism. From their instruction, as good old Jamie Melville said of the teaching of his beloved Knox, "I took away sic things as I could comprehend;" had my limitations been fewer, this book were the better! Professor Cheyney allowed me to select this subject for study from his list of proposed monographs in the period he has so ably made his own, and he generously advised me during my investigations and writing. Also I am grateful to Professor Charles H. Cooley, of Michigan, who kindly read a first draft of parts of this work, suggesting many corrections and changes which were very useful to me. My sister, Mrs. Edwin P. Nutting, read the entire manuscript, improving it materially, and my wife has helped me through the tedious proof-reading and indexing, for

which assistance I am pleased here to thank them both. And finally I express now my sincere appreciation of the courteous, helpful service of the Librarians of the Universities of Pennsylvania and Michigan, of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of the New York Public Library, which I have so freely enjoyed — also of the careful coöperation of those of The Torch Press who have handled this book for me.

PAUL V. B. JONES

University of Illinois
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CHAPTER I

THE PERSONNEL OF THE HOUSEHOLD

So noble a man, so valiaunt lord and knyght,
Fulfilled with honor, as all the world doth ken;
At his commaundement which had both day and nyght
Knyghtes and Squyers, at euery season when
He calde vpon them, as meniall houshold men; . . .[1]

JOHN SKELTON.

"The English are serious like the Germans; lovers of show, liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their master's arms in silver fastened to their left arms; . . ."[2] Thus wrote Paul Hentzner, a Brandenburg jurist, who was traveling in England in 1598. As a foreigner, he was much impressed by the ostentatious display of part of the household equipment of an English nobleman. How he would have been struck by the survey of a complete establishment in operation! Unfortunately, however, his lively observations on the manners of the English are brief indeed and we must draw our own picture of that remarkable institution.

The household of an English nobleman in the Tudor period was an exceedingly large and complicated organization. The term "household," as then used, included as well the master's family as his servants. This gave to the average menage a considerable membership, and made of the large households veritable communities of men.

A learned man who well knew the age of the great Queen, writing early in the 17th century, mentions an earl who "kept ordinarily in his house two hundred persons . . ."[3] Extant household books kept by different great noblemen of the time under consideration demonstrate the truth of this affirmation.

[1] Skelton, *Lament on the Doulourous Dethe of the Erle of Northumberland*, Dyce edition, 1.

[2] Paul Hentzner's *Travels in England*, London, 1797, 63.

[3] Brathwait, *Household of an Earle*, 11.

In 1469, two hundred and ninety-nine people made up the domestic establishment of George, Duke of Clarence.[4] This was above the average in size, while the much less pretentious household of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was almost as far below the mean. The latter nobleman paid wages to sixty-five servants in his employ on October 9, 1483, and while there were certainly a few other people in this establishment, it is impossible to say how many.[5]

At Michaelmas quarter (September 29th) in the third year of King Henry the 8th, (1512) one hundred and sixty-six men, women, and children, all told, were listed on the check-roll of Henry Algernon Percy, the 5th Earl of Northumberland [6] — most of these in office directly for the maintenance of his stately house. Sir Thomas Lovell, in 1542, paid wages to ninety-seven servants, while the Earl of Rutland, his son, remunerated ninety-one for services done in the 28th year of Henry the 8th; [7] but the real number in the latter's employ, possibly then, and certainly in 1539, was nearer one hundred and thirty-five.[8] About the middle of the 16th century, Richard Bertie and his Countess were hiring some eighty servants, besides gardeners, dairy-maids and laborers, which servitors, if duly enumerated, might easily make the number of people ordinarily living at Grimsthorpe House more than one hundred.[9]

There were over one hundred and fifty hirelings in service for Henry, Earl of Worcester, who lived from 1577-1646. His was an establishment similar to the dignified household maintained by the great Earls of Derby, Edward, and Henry, after him. In May of 1587 when house was "set up" at Lathom, one of the family manors in Lancashire, one hundred and eighteen people were living right with the Earl Henry in "daily attendance;" [10]

[4] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 105.

[5] *Howard Household Books*, 468-470. The doubt as to the exact number of servants in this establishment arises from the fact that, while there are numerous mentions of servants in these household books, they do not contain any official lists as do most of the other similar accounts.

[6] *Northumberland Household Book*, 1827 ed., 45.

[7] MSS. of Duke of Rutland, 4, 260-261.

[8] *Ibid.*, 284 sq.; *ibid.*, 296 sq.

[9] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 459-460.

[10] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 23-37.

while in 1590 his servants alone numbered one hundred and forty through additional help — footmen, laundresses and others, which were required in several of the departments.[11]

Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle in Cumberland, never, at least from 1612 until his death in 1640, regularly employed so many as eighty servants. In 1633 the names of seventy-eight were on his pay roll,[12] but the number varies between 1612-1640 inclusive, from forty-five in the former year,[13] to seventy-eight in 1633.[14] This lesser state was probably due to Howard's taste and needs, or to his status among the nobility, rather than to any great change in the domestic arrangements of this entire class of English society. We have already noted the comparatively small establishment of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, of a much earlier date, as well as the great household of Lord William Howard's contemporary, Henry Earl of Worcester.[15]

Every household, as observed, consisted of two groups of people. Comprising the first were the noble lord and his own family, often enough with various kin, close relatives, who also lived and had their being beneath his roof. The second group was a large body of household servants of various standings and degrees, from the three or four great officials always at the head of the group, together usually with young noblemen, some of them wards, trying their prentice hand at the life, later perhaps to be their own, and the several ecclesiastics always in a household, down through the ranks of yeomen and grooms, chamber and dairy maids to the bands of youngsters set to work in the kitchen or the brew house, where their little abilities were useful.

The distinction, however, between family and servants, was in some households made somewhat obscure, at least so far as the higher servitors were concerned, by the frequent practice of filling the more important offices with members of the family.

The princely estate of the great 5th Earl of Northumberland,

11 *Ibid.*, 84-88.

12 *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 501.

13 *Ibid.*, 490-491.

14 *Ibid.*, 500-501.

15 An average household had a membership of about one hundred and thirty souls, if we may found an average on these eleven representative houses flourishing at different times in the Tudor period.

already mentioned, well famed in its day for its majesty, was one of the largest and most elaborate of all the households of which detailed record remains. In the year 1512 there were "daily abiding in the Earl's house," maintained and maintaining, the following interesting people: Of the family, the earl, with his wife, the Lady Catherine; their three sons — Henry, Lord Percy, the heir and subsequently 6th Earl of Northumberland; the second son, Thomas, and the third, Ingelram, Percy, both, of course to become knights. There was at this time only one daughter in the family — the little Lady Margaret. All these children were youngsters, if we may judge from the well equipped nursery. In addition, the earl's brothers are mentioned as included, at least at times, in the household. Of these there were three — Sir William, knight; Allan, clerk, and Joseline Percy. Of domestics, whose chief if not only duty was attendance upon these of the family, there were several — a yeoman and a groom for my young lord and his brothers; two "rockers" and a child to attend in the nursery; three gentlewomen and two chamberers for Lady Catherine, and three servants for each of the earl's brothers.[16]

At the head of the household were four chief officers the Chamberlain, Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller. Not to define here the positions of these men, it will suffice to say that in concert or singly they were in charge of the other servants and much of the household management. Each of these officers had certain men and boys detailed especially to serve him; thus the Chamberlain's group, with that dignitary himself, counted seven, including his chaplain, clerk, two yeomen, "a child of his chamber," and his horsekeeper. The Steward had likewise his clerk, child and horsekeeper; the Treasurer, a clerk and horsekeeper, and the Comptroller "charged" was also allowed but the two, viz., a clerk and a horsekeeper.

[16] This entry is a bit obscure; it reads: "My Lordes Brether every of theym with theire Servaunts iiij as to say if thei be Preists his Chapelyn his Childe and his Horskepar And if he be other ways his Clerk his Childe of his Chambre and his Harskepar." — *Northumberland Household Book*, ed. 1827, 43. Is the meaning, that the service differed according to the character of the first servant, or, as seems more likely, if one of the brothers should be a priest, then his attendants were chosen accordingly? According to Bishop Percy, the Allan Percy mentioned above was Warden of Trinity College at Arundel in Sussex. *Op. cit.*, xxiv.

Next in rank were the Dean of the Chapel, and his servant; the Surveyor[17] and his; two members of my lord's council,[18] each of whom had his servant, and the Secretary, who was also allowed his man. There were six Chaplains: an Almoner who had a servant if he was a "maker of interludes," the servant to write the parts; if the Almoner were not the happy possessor of that joyous forte then he stood alone; a Master of Grammar, a riding Chaplain for the Earl Percy, a Sub-dean, a "Gospeller," that is, a priest who read the Gospel, and a Lady Mass Priest.

Two Gentlemen Ushers were allowed a servant, while especially for the noble Earl Percy, were two Carvers, two Sewers (servers of food), and two Cup-bearers, each pair of which had its man, unless these young men were in the household "at their friends finding," or support, under which condition each was to have his own servant — an interesting note which gives us a bit of the procedure connected with the very prevalent practice of placing young noblemen or gentlemen's sons in great houses for a part of their early training. For the "board's end"[19] were two Gentlemen Waiters with their one servant. Of henchmen, and "young gentlemen" at their friend's finding,[20] there were five — three of the former and two of the latter. There was one "Officer of Arms" who might be either a Herald, or a herald's attendant — a Pursuivant,[21] and two Yeomen Ushers of the Chamber.

The Chapel service was highly estimated, for no fewer than fifteen people were required to conduct it. Nine of these were men styled "Gentlemen of the Chapel," being the Choir Master, two tenors, four "counter-tenors," the "Pistoler," that is, one whose duty was the reading of the Epistle, and "one for the organs;" the other six were children — trebles and means.

Two men marshalled the Hall and had the customary servant

17 An officer whose duties had to do with the estates of Earl Percy.

18 A body of men whose advice and assistance were required in running the household, attending to petitioners, etc.

19 That is, the end of the dining-table in the Great Chamber, where the earl and his family sat at meals.

20 I do not think that there is any confusion between these young men "at their friends finding" and the carvers, cup-bearers, etc., spoken of above. These latter might, or might not, be supported in the household by their friends.

21 *Northumberland Household Book*, 35.

between them. There were also a Yeoman Usher of the Hall, six Yeomen of the Chamber, and five Yeomen Waiters, while the so-called "yeoman officers" of the household were eleven; one of the Robes, one of the Horse, one of the Vestry, one of the "Ewery" — the place where the ewers, or hand basins and certain other utensils were kept, a yeoman officer of the pantry, one of the cellar, one of the buttery, a yeoman cook "for the mouth," one each for the bake and brew house, and a yeoman porter.

There were twenty grooms and groom officers. Five were called Grooms of the Chamber, of which three were delegated "to ride with my Lord," while of the other two it was decreed that one was "to bide at home," while his companion was especially for the service of Lady Catherine. Three were Grooms of the Wardrobe who devoted their time respectively to the "robes," the beds, and to the gowns of Lady Percy. Further, there was a groom for each of the following posts: the ewery, pantry, cellar, and the buttery; two for the kitchen, of which one was "for the mouth," and the other for the larder, and finally — there were a Groom of the Hall, a Groom Porter, a Groom of the Stirrup, a Groom of the Palfreys, a Groom Sumpterman, a Groom of the "Chariot."

Ten youngsters besides the Children of the Chapel, were enrolled for duty, one in each of these places — the Wardrobe, Kitchen, Scullery, Stable, "Chariot," Bakehouse, "Butchery," Catory, Armory, and finally — one to assist the Arras-mender.[22]

A small corps of minstrels were regularly paid to render their pleasing services, the members of which were performers upon the tabour, the lute, and the rebeck — a sort of three string fiddle;[23] while a seemingly miscellaneous group included the Footman, two Falconers, a Painter, Joiner, Huntsman, and the Under Almoner of the Hall, whose specified duty was to serve the Grooms of the Chamber with wood; but of all functions, more later.

The little army of ten clerks must have kept the whole establishment duly footed up and balanced! They were sub-divided among the following departments — Kitchen, Signet,[24] Foreign

[22] As his title implies, a man to keep the arras or wall-hangings in repair.

[23] *Northumberland Household Book*, 415.

[24] Pertaining to all work like letter-writing, which had to receive the earl's seal. *Vide ibid.*, 328.

Expenses,[25] Brevements,[26] the Clerk "Avenar,"[27] "Works,"[28] Clerk of the "Wearing Book,"[29] and one, an assistant "to write under the clerks of the Foreign Expenses." The solitary miller brings up the rear!

Turning now to a somewhat later period, we note substantially the same impressive personnel assembled for the proper maintenance of his Grace Henry, the Earl of Derby. All, of the one hundred and eighteen people, who, in May of 1587, were enrolled in this nobleman's household, belonged, with the exception of five, to the serving group. Those five were the Earl Henry's brother, Sir Edward Stanley, and four servants in his employ.

At the head of the establishment stood the customary high officials — Mr. Steward, Mr. Comptroller, and Mr. Receiver-General,[30] each having three servants of his own. The earl had also an Auditor and a private Secretary, though these places are not mentioned in his check-roll.[31] Of Gentlemen Waiters, there were eight, including Mr. Bushey, the earl's page. Two Clerks of the kitchen, Wm. Aspinowle and Mychell Doughtie conducted the important office in their charge. There was but one Chaplain, Sir Gilbert Towneley — a remarkable change wrought by the Reformation, from the kind of religious administration maintained in the Northumberland household.

The nineteen yeomen officers, six of whom were alternatives, had duties in the following stations: the Chamber, where were two Yeomen Ushers: the cellar, in which either Richard Makin, or Jhon Lawton served: the Hall, choice lying between the services of ffransis (*sic*) Hamlet or Edward Parker: Porters, either Anthony Wells or Edward Spenser: Butlers, either Edward Ellis or Jhon Mordant: the pantries, where either William Doddile or Thomas Wilson might be stationed: the ewery where was to be found either William Marson, or Jhon Barber: the "wardrobe of beds," regularly requiring the time of three men, the

25 Probably expenses incurred outside of the household expenses, strictly considered. *Vide ibid.*, 398-400.

26 Brevements were accounts of food, etc., dispensed.

27 A clerk in charge of oats and other horse feed.

28 Improvements, repairs, etc.

29 A book in which account of linen, etc., in use was kept

30 *I.e.*, of rents, fees, etc.

31 *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 31, 35, etc., and Introduction of the same, vi and note.

two Parkers, Henry, junior and senior, and Edward Mason: while lastly, two of these yeomen officers — Richard and William Mollynewx, were arras men.

Six men, Richard Borrowes, Edward Halsall, William Edling, Gilbert Holme, Edward Smythe, and Edward Stockeley, exercised the office of Grooms of the Chamber to the Earl Henry, while two more, Thomas Plombe and Thomas ffletcher (*sic*) were paid as sub-grooms. The twelve Yeomen Waiters, Petter Wroe, Thomas ffoster, Robert Doughtie, Thomas Hayworth, Geordge Hayworth, Cvttberde Gerrarde, Richard Lockevell, Robert Smythe, Petter Hille, Thomas Simcock, Richard Travers, and Jhon Siddall, had their ranks further recruited in hunting season by one, Thomas Bickerstath.

Edward Derby, the immediate predecessor of the Earl Henry, maintained a company of minstrels in his household,[32] but at this time the only musicians were the two trumpeters, Jhon King and Geordge Campion.

The great kitchen service required the labor of eleven men, including an alternative, and two of the number, Jhon Blackeladge and Henry Taillior were appointed especially for work in the scullery. One William Gawen held the very careful post of Caterer, while there were two slaughtermen, two bakers, two brewers, a malt-maker, a candle-man, three footmen, two Almoners, two carpenters, a gardener, a "roughcaster" or plasterer, two "hop-men," and two laundresses — Margaret Scaresbrike and Ellen Gaskell, who appear to have been the only female servants in the entire establishment.

There were thirteen men in the barn-yard brigade — William Wainewright, Yeoman of the Horses, Gilbert Parstcote, coachman, Ewan Wainewright, Hugh Bury, "yeoman of my Lord's stoeroppes," Jhon Pollet, Jhon Vergus, yeoman of the "waineryes," Hugh Leylonde, Jhon Mollyneux, Ewan Simcote, Hugh Cropper, Henry Standishe, Henry Otie, and George Mosscroppe. With this humble crew, and listed in the most lowly place in the whole roll, was one who probably little cared "Henry ye ffoolle."[33]

The only important difference between a small household, like that of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the very large estab-

[32] Whittaker's *Hist. of Craven*, 233. Cited by Ed. Raines in his introduction to the *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, vi.

[33] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 23-27.

lishments, like the two whose memberships have just been given, lay largely in the number of servants employed, rather than in the general character and purpose of the help.

There were few members in the family of Lord John Howard of Stoke in Suffolk, in 1481; in fact, besides the lord and his lady were only their young daughter and her youthful husband, Lady and Lord Berners. Nor did Howard, as we have noted earlier employ the small army of household servants so many of the nobility hired. While it is quite impossible to tell completely what were the official positions of his servitors, withal, the list of known vocations in his household was very much like those of the larger houses.

Lord John had his Steward, a man named Bliant [34] who faithfully attended to the manifold duties of his weighty office during 1482 and 1483, being made Comptroller sometime late in the latter year,[35] when another Steward was at once appointed.[36] In 1483 the Receiver was one Ovy,[37] while the Auditor was John Knight; [38] that same office was filled for the two previous years, however, by a man with the euphonious appellation of Watkyn Fulbone.[39] Wodde, or Wood was the Treasurer,[40] while a Secretary, an official unmentioned before the elevation of the Lord John to his dukedom is in service subsequently.[41] A priest, Sir William Davys, commonly addressed as "Sir William," was given wages regularly; his employment was varied, however, and he was certainly not the sole administrator to the spiritual needs of the Howard household. Another priest, Sir Pers or Perys Aleghe, of the parish of "Polsted," received 8.s for his first Mass before Howard and his Lady, and Lord and Lady Berners, which he sang on Sunday the 26th day of May, in the 22nd year of Edward the 4th.[42] So much for the principal officials as they were usually ranked.

Among the lesser servitors, the Caterer was for some time a

34 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 74.
35 *Ibid.*, 439.
36 *Ibid.*, 439, 441, 442, etc.
37 *Ibid.*, 453.
38 *Ibid.*, 480.
39 *Ibid.*, 117, 346.
40 *Ibid.*, 97.
41 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 441, 465, etc.
42 *Ibid.*, 208.

Richard Wolman,[43] but that office was later filled by a man called Holt. In this household furthermore were all those servants, usually officially called yeomen and grooms, though here we are able to distinguish them only in terms of their places. Thus constantly mentioned were Lawrence of the Hall,[44] Nicholas Wardrobe,[45] Nicholas of Buttery,[46] Oliver the Butler,[47] Robin of Stable,[48] Richard of Stable,[49] Webbe of Stable,[50] Will of Bakehouse,[51] Andrew of Chamber,[52] Maud of the Kitchen,[53] Jak of Kitchen,[54] Hary of Cellar,[55] Edmond of Ewery,[56], the Footman,[57] etc.

There was a Clerk of the Kitchen,[58] whose brother, with the apt cognomen of "Gauge," may have been his assistant. A brewer, a baker, and a cook were of course hired.[59] The cook was assisted by "Jak" above noted, who may have been one of the children of the kitchen. We may complete this general group, by including in it two men whose presence about the place at Stoke must have been welcome then, and whose names delight us yet to-day, though they afford us but a mute and pathetic vision of once bright souls. Surely the hours were not all leaden, where "Nicholas the singer" and "Thomas the Harper" lived![60]

Unfortunately Stoke was by no means exempt from the annoying ravages of rats and moles, and two professional exterminators of these two varieties of vermin — a "rat man"[61] and

[43] *Ibid.*, 216.
[44] *Ibid.*, 56, 94, etc.
[45] *Ibid.*, 52, 59, etc.
[46] *Ibid.*, 124.
[47] *Ibid.*, 97.
[48] *Ibid.*, 58, 90, 96, etc.
[49] *Ibid.*, 390.
[50] *Ibid.*, 52.
[51] *Ibid.*, 125.
[52] *Ibid.*, 361.
[53] *Ibid.*, 114, 169, etc.
[54] *Ibid.*, 102.
[55] *Ibid.*, 470.
[56] *Ibid.*, 470.
[57] *Ibid.*, 440.
[58] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 135.
[59] *Ibid.*, 213.
[60] *Ibid.*, 48, 124, 163, 203, 284, etc.
[61] *Ibid.*, 51.

a "mole killer,"[62] drew wages occasionally in their official capacities. Howard also employed a "bird taker"[63] whom it is perhaps unfair to associate thus with the pest fighters. This may have been the fellow called another time the "partreche taker,"[64] or still again, "the faconer."[65]

Lord John Howard followed the prevalent custom of busying various groups of children about the house in one capacity or another, and he also paid for the services of a few female hands. Thus at Stoke there were youngsters regularly in the kitchen, buttery and stable, while another little band of five sang in choir at the Chapel Service.[66] These young folk were known habitually, like their older prototypes, in the terms of their service — as "the Children of the keching,"[67] or, individually, "Campbell, lad of the Kechyn,"[68] "Colte, child of the Batery,"[69] "Little Richard of the Chapel,"[70] or "Edward of the Chapel."[71] This same indiscriminate merging of name in office also occurred with the women servants; thus there was "Anes chamberer,"[72] "Katherine of Chamber,"[73] also another Katherine, or better, "Cateryne the washer."[74] All these, and a maid of the dairy were regularly hired.

We have not yet, however, taken note of all the people who lived out their days in Lord Howard's little orbit. Particularly were there four others in his household of whom we would so gladly learn more. The first of these was a young man called Diago,[75] perhaps a foreigner to whom Howard grew attached, when he was on the continent, at Calais or elsewhere. What Diago did to earn his salt, we are unable to say, but money was from time to time given him in pittances, and he was kindly

62 *Ibid.*, 359.
63 *Ibid.*, 425.
64 *Ibid.*, 442.
65 *Ibid.*, 464.
66 *Ibid.*, 213.
67 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 151.
68 *Ibid.*, 117.
69 *Ibid.*, 465.
70 *Ibid.*, 344.
71 *Ibid.*, 324.
72 *Ibid.*, 51, 99, etc.
73 *Ibid.*, 319.
74 *Ibid.*, 51; also 211, 301, etc., for dairy maid.
75 *Ibid.*, 108.

taken care of at Howard's expense once when he was ill.[76] The second lad, known as "Tousan" — was a page probably, for he seems to have been a favorite, and often with Lord John, who supplied his wardrobe; now it was a new boublet of white and blue,[77] or a pair of hose,[78] a bonnet,[79] gown,[80] or perchance a pair of shoes.[81] The other two were "fools," and in this respect Howard seems to have surpassed the rest of the nobility. The one, "Tom Fole," as he was called, was for the entertainment of the house proper, while his companion in nonsense had the kitchen for his sphere of activity.[82]

Though an establishment employing many less servants than the immense households, Lord Howard's menage did have about the same departments as their's. Having surveyed in detail the composition of these three characteristic noble houses, we can say further, that neither the household of Richard Bertie [83] and his Countess, nor that of the Earl of Worcester present any remarkable variations from those we have examined here, and while there were some curious special servants hired both by Sir Thomas Lovell and his son, the Earl of Rutland, there were few duties assigned to them which could not have been equally well handled by some of the numerous yeomen officers, yeomen, or grooms of the other establishments.

Finally, custom in regard to the servants suitable for a nobleman's equipment had crystallized by the beginning of the 17th century. The earlier practices had become stereotyped and slight indeed are the changes which have crept in. At that time a model establishment, according to an observant man, the poet and littérateur, Richard Brathwait,[84] must have included the following offices: Of chief officials, three were indispensable,

[76] *Ibid.*, 124.
[77] *Ibid.*, 356.
[78] *Ibid.*, 161.
[79] *Ibid.*, 134.
[80] *Ibid.*, 99.
[81] *Ibid.*, 56.
[82] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 228, 284, 324, etc.
[83] See Appendix A for summaries of the households of the Berties and the Earl of Worcester, and the full lists of all the servants in the establishments of Lovell and his son.
[84] R. Brathwait, *Household of an Earle*, 3-4. "What officers and Servants the state of an Earle requireth to have," etc.

these being the Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller; while the services of an Auditor and a Receiver could be used, yet, as Brathwait tersely expresses it "... theese are extraordinary, and two of the cheefe Officers (being men of experience) may supply those places; the one in taking accompt, the other in receiving rents and profitts, and there by free the Earl from fees that belong to those Officers." Thrifty leeway also made it optional whether there were a "Clarke Comptroller" or not, that official being likewise the holder of a sinecure "if the cheefe Officers be painefull in their places."

Aside from two Gentlemen Ushers and a Preacher or "Chaplaine in ordinary," the well-compacted list succinctly tallies off the following picturesque train [85] — "A gentelman of the Horse, A Secretarye, tenn gentelmen waiters, two gentlemen pages, a Clarke of the Kitchin, an Yeoman Usher, and Groome of the great Chamber, Two Yeomen of the Warderobe of apparell for the Earle and Ladye: Two Groomes for their bedchamber, one Yeoman and Groome for the Wardrobe of Bedds. An Yeoman Vsher, and Groome for the Hall. An Yeoman and Groome for the Sellor, An Yeoman and Groome for the Pantry, An Yeoman and Groome for the Buttery. An Yeoman for the Ewerye. An Yeoman of the Horse. An Yeoman rider. Five Musitions. Six Yeomen waiters. Two Footemen. An Yeoman Purveyor. A Master Cooke, Under Cookes and Pastry men three. An Yeoman and Groome in the Squillerye. One to be in the Larder and Slaughter house. An Achator. Conducts and Kitchin boyes three. Two in the woodeyarde. In the Bakehouse, Brewhouse, and Granorye, five. A Trumpeter. A Drumme. An Yeoman and Groome in the Armorye. An Yeoman and Groome for the garden. A coatcheman, A waggoner, Six Groomes for the Stable, A groome for the Lawndry, Two Yeomen Porters. Gentlewomen, Chambermaydes, and Lawnederers, the number to be set downe by the Earle and his Ladye."

In conclusion, the explanation for this similarity in the composition of these households is in part not hard to discover. The nobles lived under very much the same conditions all over England, and their management problems were alike. Again, in

[85] See Appendix B for another like list dating from the same time, which, however, is not so orderly as this one.

the household as elsewhere, dearly loved tradition and long set precedent tended to level irregularities and found a uniform practice. Thus Henry, Earl of Derby, wanted his beer brewed, his cattle slaughtered and the meat cut up, and his bread made, all, as these operations had been done in the time of the late earl, his father.[86] And, finally, the royal household, which was the exact counterpart of the great noble establishments, first, because it, with them, evolved amid identical surroundings, certainly was later used by the nobles as the great standard by which to determine the details of their own managements. We do not have to be guided here entirely, by the perhaps safe analogy of such a practice in similar society to-day. Richard Brathwait in setting forth his rules and orders declares in regard to the functions of Gentlemen Ushers "But (for the order of service which the Earle may have wher he pleaseth to keepe his estate) I will referr them to marke and see how the table in the presence chamber of the Kinges Majestie is served and ordered; and the better to furnish themselves with knowledge, they are to make meanes that they may be in the presence chamber, not onely at ordinarye times, but also when the Kings Majestie feasteth and entertaineth great strangers and Embassadors." [87]

Earlier than this also, in the days of Henry the 8th, it was plainly recognized that noblemen should pattern their establishments after the royal household; in the 22nd year of the reign of that monarch, some special regulations were drawn up entitled "Articles devised by his royal highness, with the advice of his council, for the establishment of good order and reformation of sundry errors and misuses in his houshold and chambers." The 31st chapter of these reads as follows: "No officer to be admitted in future, but such as be of good demeanor, and respect to be had that they be personages of good fashion, gesture, countenance, and stature, so as the king's house, *which is requisite to be the mirrour of others*, may be furnished with such as are elect, tried, and picked, for the King's honour." [88]

[86] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 8-10, 12, and 20-22.
[87] Brathwait, 10-11.
[88] *Archaeologia*, III, 154 *et seq.*

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY AND THE SERVANTS

O good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world,
When service swet for duty, not for meed!
Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
When none will sweat but for promotion;
And having that, do choke their service up
Even with the having: 'tis not so with thee.

As You Like It, Act. II, Sc. 3.

Whatever may have been the size or the intricate composition of the serving body belonging to a nobleman, every member listed in such a teeming dramatis personae was scheduled, actually to perform some rôle, exalted or humble, on the domestic stage. The jingling pomp and haughty flourish which large numbers of servants made possible, was, in the estimation of most of the nobility, but the richly cherished by-product of a great organization whose foremost function was service.

It is a trite remark perhaps, that the proper construction and successful control of one of those complicated machines was of the weightiest import, and very difficult of accomplishment, eighty or even two hundred human beings, assembled from all over in one household, many of them men, by nature upright and reliable, but also many, actuated by uncertain humor, and fitful caprice, full of sly deceit, prone at any moment to seek profit for themselves at their master's expense, though their double dealing threw all out of harmony — to institute and maintain proper control here — was indeed a hydra-headed servant problem of the first magnitude! So grave was it, in fact, that frequently thoughtful fathers when about to transfer to younger shoulders the management of a rich patrimony, anxiously presented therewith, careful admonitions regarding servitors, founded on personal experiences of their own which often had been exceedingly bitter.

James, 7th Earl of Derby (born 1606) was such a solicitous parent. Twice, at least, in long letters, veritable "epistles" to his son and heir, Charles, Lord Strange, he narrated at length for the young man's benefit, important chapters in his life history, and in one of those communications, particularly, earnestly counseled him with much practical advice. He doubtless hoped to make his instructions regarding servants emphatic by concluding them in this wise: "Most of these misfortunes I have met with in servants, which hath given me great vexation; therefore, I hope by my experience you will avoid them as much as possible. I might have enlarged upon many of the passages and observations here recited, in which I have been sufficiently exercised to give you examples both of pride and corruption in those employed about you; but I am loath to dwell too long on one subject, not knowing how long a time I must dwell here myself,[1] . . ." etc.

The 9th Earl of Northumberland, while imprisoned in the Tower because he was implicated in the Gun Powder Plot, wiled away some of the tedium of his long incarceration, likewise by writing out for his son a detailed account of how his estates were to be run, and no small part of this description bears upon the choice and control of servants. The earl's narrative is characterized by a cynical vehemence, partly because of his unhappy life, but also because, as he declares, his own father, foolishly indulgent, neglected to instruct him how to assume and carry the heavy responsibilities which his vast estates engendered. Inheriting these at the immature age of twenty-one, in the callow simplicity of youth wily servants so neatly led him about by the nose, that before he was aware, in the short compass of a year and a half, he found himself £15,000 in debt on an annual income of £3,000,[2] and this was but a portion of his early difficulties as presently will be narrated.

[1] Second Letter to his son, 47. *Stanley Papers*, Part 3, 3. It is interesting to note that these admonitions to his son are copied by the earl almost literally from the famous "Precepts" which Lord Burghley set down for the use of his son, Robert Cecil. There are some slight additions and some changes in wording, otherwise the hard-headed sense of the careful old statesman is reproduced verbatim. This is a most remarkable example of the great influence of Burghley's little work which went through six editions between 1617 and 1780.

[2] Instructions of Henry Percy to His Son, *Archaeologia*, XXVII, 306-358.

The import of this problem it was, further, which induced observant men like Richard Brathwait,[3] or the unsigned author of the "Breviate,"[4] when they wrote their treatises on household management, to be very straightforward in stating their opinions and laying down their precepts about servants. It is in this light, therefore, that the characters of servants, especially of the officers — the manner of their hiring — and the bonds which existed between them and their noble masters must be studied.

The chief officers in every household had to be men of versatile abilities, and they were often of knightly, if not of noble rank. Brathwait affirms that he has ". . . knowne, not onely gentlemen of great livinges, but also many Knightes, yea Barons Sonnes, and some Earles Sonnes, to serve Earles in places of office,"[5] and he neatly characterizes these principal household men as those who should be ". . . not only well borne and of good livinges, but also grave and experienced, not prowde and haughty, neither too affable and easy; gentle and courteous in matters concerning themselves, but severe and sharpe, if offences be committed against God, or their Lorde. . . ."[6] He was surely right in his estimate even if his last requisite does smell somewhat strongly of the new religious leven of his day.

The poet, John Skelton, living much earlier than Brathwait thus sketched in outline the servitors of the unfortunate 4th Earl of Northumberland:

> So noble a man, so valiaunt lord and knyght,
> Fulfilled with honor, as all the world doth ken;
> At his commaundement, which had both day and nyght
> Knyghtes and squyers, at euery season when
> He calde upon them, as meniall houshold men;[7]

So spake two men who lived at either terminus of this long epoch. In the interval flourished noblemen who were similarly served. The three chief officials in the household of Henry,

[3] Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earle, Set Downe by Ri[chard] Brathwait. In *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, 8th Tract.

[4] A Breviate touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman's House, 1605. *Archaeologia*, XIII, 315-389.

[5] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 15.

[6] *Ibid.*, 6.

[7] *Lament on the Doulourous Dethe*, etc., Dyce ed., vol. 1.

Earl of Derby, were men of knightly rank, and were all related directly or by marriage with the great Stanley family.[8] The Steward, Wm. ffarington (*sic*) was a gentleman of dignity and importance, who faithfully served under three generations of the earl's family, and conducted successfully meantime, various important work for the crown, outside, quite, of his official capacity in the Derby household. He had some Oxford training; was admitted a member of the Inner Temple in August of 1555, "and throughout his life was an active and influential magistrate." Through his marriage with Anne, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Talbot of Bashall, he got, into the bargain, a broad estate of his own, a nearer relationship with the Stanley family, and acquaintance with other families of rank. Under the Earls of Derby, he was first Secretary, then Comptroller to Edward, and when that nobleman died in 1572, he became Steward to Henry, the new earl, and upon the latter's death in 1593, the Earl Ferdinando made ffarington his Receiver-General.

Sir Richard Sherburne, who was Treasurer of the household in 1572, at the death of Edward Earl of Derby, was also, through his mother, kin of the Stanleys, while in 1572 his eldest son married the grand-daughter of the Earl Henry, whose Steward Sherburne had been since the death of Earl Edward in that year. Sir Richard had been twice earlier returned to Parliament — once, in 1555 for Liverpool, and again in 1554 and 1557 for Preston. He too, like ffarington, his colleague in office, was at different times selected by the Crown for the performance of royal duty. Thus under Philip and Mary "he was High Steward and Master Forester of the Forest of Bowland, in Yorkshire." Under King Henry the 8th he had been a commissioner for the dissolution of the monasteries, and he acted in a similar capacity for Edward 6th for the sale of chantry lands. In 1581 he was chosen with Henry Earl of Derby and others, by no less men than Burghley and Walsingham, to arbitrate with the tenants a property quarrel in the Collegiate Church of Manchester. He was also a Deputy Lieutenant of Lancashire, and was made Governor of the Isle of Man by Edward, his first patron among the Earls of Derby.[9]

[8] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, Introduction, xviii-xcviii for all these facts.
[9] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, notes, 104-105.

Another of the servants, Michael Doughtie, Clerk of the Kitchin, was a wealthy man, a member of Parliament for Preston in 1588, and for Liverpool in 1592. His descendants became yet more closely related to the Stanleys through the marriage of his great-grand-daughter with Sir Thomas Stanley. She thus became the mother of Edward, 11th Earl of Derby.[10]

In addition, mention might also be made of the honorable careers of Alexander Rigbie, also a high servitor in Earl Henry's establishment, a Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for Lancashire — and of Wm. Foxe, or ffoxe, who was one of this same noble's council men, and also Comptroller of his household.[11]

When the 5th Earl of Northumberland and his lady retired each year to their "sceret house" — a less ostentatious housekeeping with fewer servants, conducted in some lodge near the big mansion or castle,[12] among those who were in daily attendance at the earl's board, were his second and third sons, acting respectively as Carver and Sewer.[13] The Clerk of the Kitchen in this same household was in 1512, a Thomas Percy. This servant was probably one of the earl's relatives, as was the Robert Percy, Comptroller of the House in 1514.[14]

This officing of certain members of the family was a common practice among the English nobility, and no taint or indignity was associated with such service either. Brathwait tells of an earl whose brother filled for him the office of Carver and Sewer, and according to him, the menial duties of the humble one's station did not stunt the healthy waxing of his social life a jot, for he grow in Brathwait's own day to "an honourable Knight

10 *Ibid.*, notes, 106-107.

11 *Ibid.*, notes, 107, 109-111.

12 *Northumberland Household Book*, 1827 ed., 442.

13 *Ibid.*, 362.

14 *Ibid.*, 1. Henry, Earl of Worcester's Steward, was a Sir Ralph Blackstone. *Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, etc. Hist. MSS. Com., 12th report, 3-6, being an old servant's account of the earl's officers. Thomas Widmerpoole, Steward in the household of Lord William Howard of Naworth, appears to have been a learned man. He captions his orderly accounts in Latin, etc. *Howard Household Books*, Surtees Soc., 1, *e.g.* We recall also the ungrateful Gonril's letter-writing, information-bearing Steward, Oswald, whom Kent so roundly abused.

of great accounte, having done many good services to his Country."[15]

Significantly enough, however, later report from the households of Northumberland and the Earls of Derby, both, prove this custom to have been not unfraught with humiliation and distressing risks. There were relatives among the household group who took such mean advantage of the youthful inexperience of the 9th Earl of Northumberland by robbing him. Telling his son of the fact long afterwards, that nobleman drew a melancholy picture of the base ingratitude of his servants — "If these had bene yong servants, and new commers, the wonder had bene the lesse; but they were cousens, old servants, councellers and sutche, as somme of them had told 15 years, some 20 in his service."[16]

The 7th Earl of Derby, likewise had grown cautious about employing kinsmen in his household service — "I am loth to have many of a House too neare a-Kin. For by that Meanes you will sometimes suffer one too much, for another's Sake."[17] Later, he strengthened this warning to his son — ". . . be not served with kinsmen and friends, for they expect much and do little. . ."[18]

The distinction attaching to these higher officers in a household was formally recognized in various interesting ways. They had their own little bands of servants, attendant on their personal wants. This added a dignity to such offices. Again, on so well ordered an occasion as was the daily dinner the precedence of these men over the rest of the household was proclaimed through their presence at the first table in the Hall.[19] Furthermore, in Northumberland's household at least, the Chamberlain and Steward often found their "mess" graced with some dainty tid-bit which they alone shared with the earl himself. This was especially apt to be the case if strangers were supping at their board: "Item it is thought goode that Hennys be bought from Cristynmas to Shroftyde so they be good and at ij d. a pece and my Lord(,) Maister Chambreleyn and the Stewardes Mees to be

[15] Brathwait, 16.

[16] Advice to his son, *Archaeologia*, xxvii, 322.

[17] 7th Earl of Derby, Advice to his son, *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 3, 3, 36.

[18] *Ibid.*, 44.

[19] *MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 5; Brathwait, 16, 17, *e.g.*

served with theym and noo other."[20] Also their regular food portions as well as their special diets for Lent, Rogation Days, and other fasts and feasts, were described with the messes of Northumberland's brother — and were, in fact, identical with his and are somewhat more elaborate, or better, less plain than those of their underlings. Thus the Lenten breakfasts of these gentlemen, consisting of two loaves of bread, a manchet (another sort of bread), a gallon of beer, two salt-fish and four white herring, while frugal enough, were not quite such wintry cheer as the mere bread, beer, and salt-fish set out for the breakfasts of the yeomen officers of the household.[21]

Men of high calibre were selected for these principal positions, because only educated, conscientious and thoroughly honest officials could successfully execute their duties. In addition to the peculiar functions of the head officers which were often of great trust, these men were responsible for the whole household. In 1587 Henry Derby ordered, "It'm that my Lo. his Steward or Comptroll' or th' one of them Shalbee daylie attendante or at the leaste from the ffridaye at night till the Moundaye, for the bett' gou'ment of his Lo. house and the p'fect vewe of eu'ie inferior officers breyvement."[22] Brathwait goes much further in his description of this superintendency — the officers ". . . must dayly goe into everie office of household to see that every officer doe his duty, according to their severall chardges. . . . They must in every of these offices oversee that all things appertaining unto them be kept in orderly and decent manner, that all wastefull expences in every of them may be avoyded."[23]

This daily tour of inspection was to carry them from the pastures where they were unawares to appear ". . . at times unknowne both to the Purveyors and pasture keepers, by which meanes those growndes will be better saved from being overeaten by other mens cattel,"[24] through every office in the house to the Porter's Lodge ". . . to see it be not the place for the receipte of the vnthriftes of the house, nor the harbour of drinking companions."[25] To the intent that this work might be

[20] *Northumberland Household Book*, 103.
[21] *Ibid.*, 74, 76, 78, 82, 97.
[22] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 21-22.
[23] Brathwait, 8-9.
[24] *Ibid.*, 7-8.
[25] *Ibid.*, 9.

effectively done "The cheefe officers themselves ought to be free from all vices and offences (so farr as humaine frailty will suffer them); for how can they punish others for their faultes, themselves being guilty of the same offences? Both the Lord and cheefe Officers ought to be an example to the whole family. . ." [26] Brathwait would have the success of this policing further assured by the master of the household himself, who was once at least gravely to harangue the assembled household on the position of the officers and the submission due to them. He suggests a sample oration for that occasion which he winds up in this manner — "And yow myne other Officers and Servants I doe now very earnestly chardge and commande yow all, upon perill of my displeasure, and losse of yowr places of service, that none of yow be so unadvisedly hardy as to shew against my saide cheefe Officers contempt or frowardnes, ffor if any happen so to doe, I will take it as if it were done against my selfe." and proud of his rhetoric he pats himself on the back by humbly remarking — "My meaning is not to wish the Earle to follow this, my rude discourse; but to serve for a grownde for him to frame a better speech upon"! [27]

Real punishment for an inferior servant, guilty of violating his charge, lay through an officer's report of the misdemeanor to the master of the house, and as the officers equally reported zealous painstaking on a servant's part, by this means the underlings were soon taught to respect the dictum of their superiors.[28]

If any trouble arose among the servants necessitating a particular investigation, the case was to be tried by the officers: "The stewarde and comptroler are to sitt in councell upon any cappitall cause, committed, and for the better assistannce, maye call unto them, or eather of them, what capital officers ells they will make choyce of, for the hearinge such causes, and soe to proceede to reformation if it maye bee, if not, makinge theire lorde privie to the faulte comitted, to discharge the partie, or parties, so offendinge, as unwoorthie that place they serve in." [29]

Work of this character explains the advice given by James,

[26] *Ibid.*, 9.

[27] Brathwait, 5-6.

[28] Breviate, *Archaeologia*, XIII, 316 *et seq.*

[29] *Ibid.*, 316. The officers were responsible for the welfare of the household in times of special danger or sickness also; *vide* Breviate, 316.

7th Earl of Derby, to his son: "Have a good steward of your house, and clerk of the kitchen, who make themselves awed by the servants even as much as yourself; and while they serve you well you must countenance them well, so will your house be orderly." [30]

In addition to the officers, positions of honor about a lord were filled in most households by young knights or noblemen who thus acquired a good training. Henry, Earl of Worcester was attended ". . . not by footmen, but by gentlemen and gentlemen's sons. . ." There were many of these young gentlemen at £2 to £700 per annum, bred right in the castle.[31] The arrangements in Northumberland's household for accommodating young men, some of them at the earl's expense and some of them at their "friend's finding," have already been noted.[32] The same practice lived in the establishment of Sir Thomas Lovell. On June 25th, 1523, the sum of twenty-five pounds, eight shillings and three pence was paid to the yeoman of his wardrobe, a part of which money was for the apparel of ". . . the yong gentylmen wardes and scolers. . ." [33]

Servitors of this character also filled the like gentlemen's offices for Henry, Earl of Derby; all of his Gentlemen Waiters, in fact, being either the heirs or the younger sons "of independent gentlemen of first rank in the country." [34] In this respect Earl Henry was but following the custom of his father, who, in turn, doubtless inherited the practice as a tradition. Stow writing about the "life and death" of the said Edward, which were "deserving Commendation, and craving Memorie to be imitated," notes the earl's generosity towards "gentlemen . . . who waited in his service" — each of whom ". . . had allowance from him to have as well wages as otherwise for horse and man." [35]

Edward's proud descendant, the great 7th Earl, in an enthus-

[30] Second Letter to his son, *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 3, 3, 46.

[31] An old servant's report of the Officers in the house of the earl. *MSS. of Duke of Beaufort*, 3 and 5.

[32] *Vide* Chapter 1, 7.

[33] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 263.

[34] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, intro., v; see also notes, 111 *et seq.*, where their genealogies are worked out.

[35] Stowe's *Chronicle*, Fol. Edit., 448 b.

iastic eulogy of his ancestor's virtues addressed to his son, Charles, Lord Strange, confirms Stow's report by chronicling among the rest of the old earl's good deeds this sterling one — "He bredd up many Youths of Noblemen, Knights & Esquires Sonns (such Reputation had he of good Government in his House! And the same obliged many Families unto it.)" [36]

In 1524 the young Earl of Oxford, a minor, through his father's death, was ordered by Chancellor Wolsey to break up his household, and with his lady and a few only of their servants to abide in the house of his father-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk. The great Cardinal assigned as one reason for this regulation, that the young earl had too little experience as yet to guide his own household. This he was to gain under a mature master. During their sojourn with Norfolk, this young couple were to pay ". . . at such convenient prizes for their boards as betweene the same Duke, and the Ladie his Dutchess, his wife, and the said Earle of Oxenford, by mediation of his friends, can be accorded, covenanted, and agreed." [37] Whatever may have been the true motive for this decision, there is probably small reason for doubting that Oxford served his parent in some capacity, and this regulation is of interest in affording an idea of the manner in which such relationships were founded.

Further light is cast upon this very interesting practice, and especially upon the kind of relationship which might prevail between these young gentlemen, out for general instruction, and the noblemen in whose service they were placed, by the instructions which the Earl of Arundell set down in 1620 "for the benefit of his younger Son, the Earl of Stafford's Grandfather, under the Title;

"Instructions for you my Son William, how to behave your self at Norwich." "In these Instructions is the following paragraph, "You shall in all Things reverence honour and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents, esteeminge whatsoever He shall tell or Command you, as if your

[36] Advice to his son, *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 3, 3, 17.

[37] "An Order made by the reverend Father in God Thomas Woolsey Cardinall of England, by directon from the King, to lymitt John Earle of Oxenford in the orderinge of his expenses of Household and other his affairs in his yonger yeares . . . [etc.] in the xv^th^ yeare of King Henry VIII." — *Archaeologia*, XIX, 62-65.

Grandmother of Arundell, your Mother, or my self, should say it; and in all things esteem your self my Lord's Page; a breeding which youths of my House far superior to you were accustomed to, as my Grandfather of Norfolk, and his Brother my good Uncle of Northampton were both bred as Pages with Bishopps, &c." "

Furthermore, Roper says of Sir Thomas More, who received his early training in the household of Cardinal Morton, that he was "received into the house of the right reverend, wise, and learned prelate, Cardinal Morton, where, though he was young of years, yet would he at Christmas-tide suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookerson more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting would say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him, *This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.* Whereupon for his better furtherance in learning he placed him at Oxford, &c."

The great establishment of Cardinal Wolsey was a veritable training school for promising young sons of the English nobility; Professor Brewer affirms that most of the Officials of Henry the Eighth's time passed an apprenticeship there, and Cavendish tells how ". . . at meals, there was continually in his chamber a board kept for his Chamberlains, and the Gentlemen Ushers, having with them *a mess of the young Lords*, and another for gentlemen." Among these latter was "my Lord Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, [who] then attended upon the Lord Cardinal, and was also his servitor; and when it chanced the Lord Cardinal at any time to repair to the court, the Lord Percy would then resort for his pastime unto the queen's chamber, and there would fall in dalliance among the queen's maidens, being at the last more conversant with Mistress Anne Boleyn than with any other; so that there grew such a secret love between them that, at length they were insured together, intending to marry." [38]

The household of Lord Burghley had the reputation in its day also, like Wolsey's establishment earlier, of being the fittest place

[38] Quoted by Furnivall in his Preface to Part 1 of *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, ix. (Printed in Early English Text Society Publications.)

in England for young gentlemen to receive part of their training; an anonymous contemporary biographer says of certain of the great statesman's servants: "His lordship was [himself] served with men of quality and habilitie. For the most of the principall gentlemen in England sought to preferre theire sons and heirs to his service. Insomuch as I have nombred in his House, attending on the table twenty gentlemen of his retayners of a thousand pounds per annum a peece, in possession and reversion, and of his ordinary men as manie, some [worth] three, five, ten, yea twenty thousand pounds, daily attending his lordship's service." [39]

A letter written by the Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley, in 1576, regarding the training of the former's son, also evidences the high esteem in which his Lordship was held, and the splendid repute of his household; it reads, in part, as follows — "Neverthelesse, uppon the assured Confidence, that your love to me shall dissend to my Childrenne, and that your Lordship will declare yourself a Frend to me, both alive and dead, I have willed Mr. Waterhouse to shew unto you how you may with Honor and Equity do good to my Sonne Hereford, and how to bind him with perpetual Frendship to you and your House. And to the Ende I wold have his Love towardes those which are dissended from you spring up and increase with his Yeares, I have wished his Education to be in your Household, though the same had not bene allotted to your Lordship as Master of the Wardes; and that the whole Tyme, which he shold spend in England in his Minority, might be devided in Attendance uppon my Lord Chamberlayne and you, to the End, that as he might frame himself to the Example of my Lord of Sussex in all the Actions of his Life, tending either to the Warres, or to the Institution of a Nobleman, so that he might also reverence your Lordship for your Wisdome and Gravyty, and lay up your Counsells and Advises in the Treasory of his Hart." [40]

This again was another very common practice, not always conducive to nice harmony and quiet in a household; such young bloods were apt to be haughty, and Brathwait says that in houses where the head offices as the Steward's or Comptroller's, were occupied by men who were perhaps not so fortunate as to be

[39] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 22 *et seq.*

[40] Murdin's *State Papers*, 301-302. Quoted by Furnivall, *op. cit.*, xv.

of a rank equal to that of these young men, strict rules had to be introduced compelling the prompt obedience of the latter to such officers, or Bedlam were presently flourishing.[41] All told, however, it speaks well for the nobles, and the position in society which they held, this willingness on the part of young men of rank to serve them in capacities which often entailed humble duties, and Brathwait declares that it was not until the days of the Stuarts that such noble servitors felt themselves disgraced by serving any rank below their sovereign.[42]

These officers and higher servitors of rank were in close association with their lords socially and very intimate with them in the performance of their duties. It was Buckingham's Surveyor who betrayed him to the King, and his tattlings point to a detailed knowledge of his master's private affairs.[43] In fact there were times when officers became too involved in the house's management for the good of all concerned. When the 9th Earl of Northumberland was sowing his wild oats, his chief servitors went bond for his debts, and in their anxiety to clear even, they drove their lord a sorry course. The earl vividly describes certain of their evil promptings: Debts had to be paid, woods were sold so fast and carelessly that in a few years was £50,000 value disposed of for £20,000 ". . . to Jewellers and Silkemen, making their nests in the branches" — and now ". . . the memory of good trees in rotten rootes doeth appere above ground at this day, being forced now for the fewell reliefe of your house at Petworth, to sowe acorns. . ."

"Now, woods being goen, fynes only rested to comme in play, the grasse being cutt under my feete for my western lands, as yow hard before. Northumberland, Cumberland and Sussex, being but coppiholders of inheritance, would yeald nothing. A littel pittance in Yorkshire remayned, wherein commodities might be raysed. The tenants having somme few years to comme, by perswasion of officers, I renewed there estates for twenty-one years; made 1700 lb fyne, and lost by that bargaine almost 5000 lb a yeare till the tyme was expired. The benifitts yt fell to my share, was, that the tenants prayed God to blesse there worshipps, waited on them to all there pleasuers; feasted them and

41 Brathwait, 15.
42 *Ibid.*, 15.
43 *Henry VIII*, I, iii.

lodged them well: — littel bribes now and then was discovered to be taken; great ones I doubt not were had, thoughe carried more closely; and thus in pompe, iyngeling uppe and downe the cuntry with there gilt bosses and studded trappers, there tales being at ease upon soft seates, weare auguries of an evell turne towards me, and a warning to yow to eschew glorious officers and servants, as a peste to yowr estate. And could any thing be imputed to be the reason of this, (since in myne owen tyme it hathe bene amended,) but the want of knowledge of myne owne? — Lands were sold, and more would have bene if I could, at under rates. For other petty and scattered demyses, I will only remember in the cateloge of the account; wherein my ignorance (for I will ley it upon nothing else) lost me, what in letters of adminstration, — in partition of thirds, — in giving honnymoone tyme, or unavisedly, — in sales of woods, — in demises of lands, and sale of some littel, — 60,000 lb or 70,000 lb." [44]

Could it have been otherwise than galling to the great Lord John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, when he had to write the following to his Steward: ". . . ferther mor were I howe zower fader in law my welweller a c. marke, for the wesche he hathe of myn to plege a kope of gold and dyverse hoder plate of mye, [to plege, I wol dessyre] as it a perethe be an hendentor, sehenge the grete ned I have to stoffe here, I wol dessyre heme to delyver the seyd kope and al the remenant to my welbeloved servante . . . , and also the hendentor of the same; and fore is paymente I dessyr zowe to be sewerty ther fore; and fore be kawse I wol ze schal be sewer wethe howete lose, I wol ze be my resseyvor of thos mekel as folowethe: firste, of Stoke, Stoke all, Jorges, Poweneses, Wedermersche, Nederall, Kalseres, Konstabelles, Bawchoues, and of al that lyethe in Stoke; of myn meles and honder, the maner of Sprotes, the maner of Bower Howese, the maner Leyame and Hoverbery al, the maner of Wersted, the maner of Smitheton, the maner of Stanstrete, the maner of Leffey, and the rewel (rule) also honder me of my konstabelchepe at Kolchester; and to resseyve of Fenche al that he gaderethe fore me; and to resseyve of Skraton al that he gaderethe bothe of the mel and hoder; also frome Mekelmes laste

[44] Advice to his son, *Archaeologia*, XXVII, 324, 325.

was forethe al the maneres of Aldam, Kokefeld, and Prestone: and of thes mony that ze schal resseyve I wol ze pay to John Amond zower faderlaw, at Hester nexte komenge L mark, and at Mekelmes nexte afeter L. marke: and zeffe Jhon Hamond wol thos a gre I bynd me be thes my wrytenge that this schal be parformed . . . " !45

Skelton, however, takes for granted sacrifices on the part of servants far more heroic than these possible ones. In the "Lament" already quoted he thus describes the sort of relationship which ought to stand between them and their lord:

> And were not they to blame, I say, also,
> That were aboute him, his owne seruants of trust,
> To suffre him slayn of his mortall fo?
> Fled away from hym, let him ly in the dust;
> They bode not till the reckenyng were discust;
> What shuld I flatter? What shuld I glose or paint?
> Fy, fy for shame, their hartes were to faint.
> . . . . . .
> But al they fled from hym for falshode or fere,
> Barones, knyghtes, squires, one ad all,
> Together with seruantes of his famuly.
> . . . . . .
> Turned their backis and let their master fal,
> Of whos [life] they counted not a flye;
> Take vp whose wold, for ther they let him ly.
> Alas, his gold, his fee, his annual rent
> Upon suche a sort was ille bestowd and spent.

— devoted, even to the sacrifice of life must it be, as the poet a little fulsomely pictures it, with eye on the young heir, we fancy.

The more humble servants lived in a kind of patriarchal simplicity under their noble master, who often manifested a kindly interest in their little concerns which was like the paternal attitude assumed by the old time Southern planter of the better type toward his dusky household servants. Thus in addition to the wages which the help earned, it was the custom in many families to reward this or that servant for the proper or pleasing manner in which some task had been performed. In November of 1561 James of the Kitchen in the Bertie household was given 8. d. by his lord's special commandment for "well dressing my

45 Undated letter in *Howard Household Books*, 558-560.

Lady's dinner''; [46] while in February of the same year the fruitful industry of Mistress Brodbank was gratefully recompensed by payment to her of 3. s: 4. d. She was in her line a triumphant domestic Diana, her reward being for ''. . . ketchinge of forty-four rattes at Valdey.'' [47] A lad by the odd name of Braby, a hand regularly in John Howard's (later Duke of Norfolk) household ranks, was the lucky owner of a like quick talent, which adroitly practiced now and again, netted him a tidy pittance. On March 26th, 1483, he was given 6. d. for taking thirteen moles in one day.[48]

Frequently this same nobleman in dealing with his servants, was generous enough to give them a bit of drink money. Particularly was he apt thus to remember them upon the fulfillment of some duty or mission. Thus Thomas Seyneclow, one of his trusted servants, while he was in London one day in August of 1482, paid for some things for Howard, and at the end of his list, came his own moist ''item'' — ''and for that my Lord gaff him to drynk 4. d.[49] On January 17th, 1483, when Howard settled with his bailiff and his wife, for their terms service, he rewarded that official's better half with 8. d. to drink, in addition to the price of her gown, a customary gift, which was 6. s: 8. d.[50]

This same kindly relationship between these great ''potentes'' and their ''humiles'' in these little home worlds, was also fostered by another practice among the nobility — that of making small money gifts personally, or through the hands of their children, to their servants, when children of the latter were christened. On August 7th, 1482, Lady Howard (Lord John's wife) at her country place, Stoke, gave 20. s. ''. . . to the crystenyng of mastyr Gorge's chylde,'' and on October 30th of the same year she presented 30. d. to ''mastress Graces chyld crystenenge.'' [51] In November of 1561 young Mr. Peregrine and Mistress Susan Bertie were given 30. s. ''To the christininge of Archenbaldes child . . .'' 24. s. of which went directly ''to the christininge'' and the remaining 6. s. to the nurse and mid-wife.[52] In

[46] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 463.
[47] *Ibid.*, 463.
[48] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 374.
[49] *Ibid.*, 284.
[50] *Ibid.*, 342-343. There are scores of these instances.
[51] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 282, 318.
[52] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 465.

February 28th, 1591, Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland gave 22. s: 6. d. to her son Francis to be divided similarly at the christening of the son of young Thomas Fairbarne.[53] Lord North at Kirtling, once stood God-father to one of his retainer's children; again he gave 10. s. to the marriage of one of his servants, and still again he presented the quite handsome sum of 53. s: 4. d. to the christening of a child of one of the household men.[54]

The 5th Earl of Northumberland had a well systematized household reward bureau, and while a part of the payments disbursed from its appropriations were like wages, others appear as surely to have been special rewards. It was his custom, for instance, when he was at home and "kept Chapel" to give his little singers 6. s: 8. d. ". . . when they doo synge the Responde callede Exaudivi at the Matyns-tyme for xjm (11000) Virgyns uppon Alhallow-day." [55] Other houses observed similar practices. In 1469 George, Duke of Clarence, laid down a regulation for the fair distribution of rewards in his household. The rule applied to the entire house, and provided that every such gift was to be gauged according to the degree of the servant in question. On such days when rewards were presented to all in the service, these were to be paid by the Clerk of the Kitchen and the Marshal of the Hall for the time being, which officers were to see to it that all household men absent about the business of the duke during the distribution, received their rewards as though they were present in person,[56] and he ". . . appoynted that all ladyes, gentylwomen, and chamberers, attending uppon the . . . Duchesse, take suche fees, rewardes, and clothinge, as shall please the Duchesse." [57]

In 1561, rewards of this sort, paid in the household of Edward Earl of Derby by the Clerk of the Kitchen, the Receiver-General and the Steward amounted to £37:10:1 in the course of that year.[58]

Unfortunately there was on the side of either party in each household a rank taint of hypocritical casuistry coloring this practice, which deprived it of all spontaniety and true grace.

[53] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 401.
[54] Household books (selections), *Archaeologia*, XIX, 291 *seq.*
[55] *Northumberland Household Book*, 342-343.
[56] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 92.
[57] *Ibid.*, 94.
[58] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 4.

Its genuine leit-motif was invariably a sordid *quid pro quo* — a literal interpretation of the "Golden" rule. Brathwait bluntly speaks of the custom in connection with that industry which all servants, but here especially gardeners should practice: "The garden," he notes, "being a place not onely pleasant, but also profitable; if the Earle and Ladie often goe into it, and finding things well, he will commend the gardiners, and sometimes giving them mony will encourage them to more paines: but if they finde matters otherwise, to tell them roundely of it they will not spare." [59]

James, 7th Earl of Derby prescribed nicely calculated rewarding: "I would as much as in me lay keep my own cash, so shall I better husband it, knowing on what occasions I part with [it]; and as it is a custom sometimes to reward good servants, consider well before you give, what it is, to whom, and for what, for certainly when you give to a good man (because he is good) it is likely to keep him so, and make others good from the example." On another occasion he told his son also, that "The Duke of Buckingham was used to reward his worst Servants first. And, being asked the Reason, he sayd, thereby he was sooner rid of them; the others would easilier abide in hope." [60] He was not willing to vouch for the worth of such a rule however.

It was the 9th Earl of Northumberland, though, who gave his son the most unblushing exposition of this metallic for value received policy: "For I say, not to give succor and reliefe after that proportion yow are able, out of yowr fortuns to sutche as waste there tyme in yowr business, is inhumanitie and dishonorable; . . ." That sounds well, but its frank humanitarianism loses its forcefulness when coupled with its defensive corollary: ". . . and for them to gaine by deceite from yow [that] whiche is not fitt for yow to give, is wickednes in them, and folly in yow to lett goe: whereas, using the contrary, yow shall be able to give more with lesse losse to yowr selfe, and they prove to gaine more in the ende with more honesty to them selfes."

He subsequently develops this same theme in a very interesting manner. It smacks, for all the world like a domestic brand of the dagger-jabbing statesmanship which that most misunderstood

[59] Brathwaite, 40.

[60] Advice to his son, *Stanley Papers*, Part 3, 3, 36, 46.

and most abused of men, Nicolò Machiavelli whispered into the slow ear of Lorenzo de Medici: "To procede with my third rule, wherein you are willed to be the giver of yowr owen guifts, without the intercession or distribution of it by others, is but to make yow master of yowr owen, as it hathe bene desired in the former principells. This will not doe it alone, but will give a helpe to the worke, not ayming to perswade yow to give lyke a God, that looketh for nothing back againe; nor by the strict rules of vertu, that must give only for vertues sake. My rules shall tend to give as one that expecteth a returne againe from them, ether out of obedience to yowr person or care of yowr profitt; or love with integrite; or to ease yow of somme labors yow cannot well undergoe; or to be a diligent watche, least snares may be laid for yow; and lastely, to bind yowr dependents without flitting, that every day yow be not pute to study new men, new humors, new affections. If there be any judiciall considerations in well-carrying the former precepts, in this there is a farre greater master worke; for, credit me, to give well and advantagiously will aske a great deal of art: but how to give, that yow may have the thanks (since it is yow that must part with the benefitt), in it lyeth the mistery." [61]

This is of the earth, earthy. It has, however, the virtue of honesty, and as one reads it he feels a guilty relief in thinking that circumstances do not compel him to tear down the finely spun webs of sophistry which handsomely veil the naked deformity of his real purposes. Which of us could dwell openly undisgraced in the Palace of Truth without the magic casket!

It is encouraging on turning from these selfish practices, to discover others of a genuinely altruistic fibre which plainly assert that many times these English noblemen looked further than the petty advantaging of self in dealing with their servants. Good old Brathwait assures us of one such pleasant habit: It was formerly the custom, says he, for Earls to ". . . appointe their cheefe Officers to spy out when any rich widdow, or Farmers daughter that had no brother, that were his tennants, chanced to be in any Mannors or Lordshipps of his, that they might be wives to such of his servantes as for their true and painefull service deserved to be preferred, that when by age or

[61] Advice to his son, *Archaeologia*, XXVII, 317 *et seq.*

other infirmities they did grow increpite, they should not be destitute of a dwelling place. . .'' This might have entailed real sacrifice, for as Brathwait goes on to say, some of the nobles in his day were so needy that when any farm ''fell'' they had perforce to prefer him who would pay most.[62]

In other ways, too, did noblemen show a real material generosity, for while it is apparent in some households at least, that the services of little children were hired because they were cheaper,[63] on the other hand a fatherly interest was often taken in the material and intellectual welfare of these little folk. In the Bertie household there lived a group of twelve youngsters, including the two children of the family. They were called the ''children of honour,'' and while it is not clear that these were some of the same little people serving in the kitchen and the other usual places where children were to be found in such an establishment, yet one of the boys was called ''William the Lackey,'' and it is probable enough that they were all in office. There was one little girl, Anne Gannocke, perhaps the running mate for little Susie Bertie. All must have been children of promise, both from the name given them, and because the family youth were associated with them; be that as it may, however, all were provided with clothing; toys were from time to time purchased for various ones of the group; while, best of all, a master was regularly paid for instructing three of the boys, and school gear like ink and pens was paid for in their names:

''March 1561 'For 2 payer of shooes for Mr. Peregrine, a payer for Mistress Suzan, and a payer for Rychard Hall, at 7d the payer, and Rychard Hall's at 8. d.' 2s. 5d.''

''December, 'For two yardes and a quarter of friseado at 8s the yarde' for coats for the two Georges.''

''September, 'For 8 payer of knitt hose for the children.' ''

''November, 'For a penne and inke for John Jeny, and for quilles for the Georges 9d.' ''

[62] Brathwait, 32-33. The cruel, hard-fisted economy of the house of Cornleigh Cornleigh was directly descended from this early practice, I suppose. See R. Jefferies, *The Dewy Morn.*

[63] John Howard to his Steward: ''. . . also I wold my pastores wer wel stored wethe katel, and a Man that schold kepe them myte hoder wyl helpe to dreve the karte, and so wethe helpe of chelderen the fewer men myte serve; . . .'' *Household Books*, 558-560.

"Oct. 'To Mr. Worthington in part payment for the "borde and scolinge of Richard Hall, John Turpin and Anthony Blackborne 20s."' "

"April, 1562, "To Mr. Worthington for the borde and skoleing of Rycharde Hall, John Turpine and Anthony Blackborne, for one halfe yeare endid at Maie daie next, after £5 the yeare for ether of them "£7 : 10s." "More for Richard Turpine, after £4 the year," 40 : s.' "

"May, 1562 'Paid for bowes and arrowes for George Sebastian' 6s."

"June, 1562 'Paid for 2 gramer bookes for the children,' 2.s." [64]

Lord Willoughby sought the intellectual welfare of his little servitors constantly. Even when he was at the head of the English forces in the Netherlands, in those trying years 1588-1589, enduring all the pitiful hardships which Elizabeth's hesitating, niggardly policy caused, he bore in mind the education of his pages, nay, on one occasion, made it a matter for diplomatic correspondence even. On March 10th, 1589, he writes from Middelbourgh to M. Mondragon, Governor of the Citadel of Antwerp, regarding the ransom of prisoners, and ends his communication in this wise:

"Meanwhile, I would recall to your memory, that when I was Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, there fell into my hands one Pierre le Espagnol, whom, although he was 200 florins short in his ransom, I released upon your word. Now, some month ago, I summoned from England a certain poor schoolmaster, to teach my pages, and on his way hither he was taken on the coasts of Flanders and carried to Dunkirk, where he is still a prisoner. I pray you therefore to send him to me, in recompense for the two hundred florins." [65]

Other noblemen were thoughtful in this important respect also. It was no doubt to this same worthy end, at least in part, that the 5th Earl of Northumberland maintained a school-house in his castle of Leckinfield; from Allhallows to Lady-day, one peck of coals daily was delivered to it, and one of the eleven priests in the household, who was a Master of Grammar, was paid the quite munificent salary of 100s per quarter, for his ser-

[64] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 462.
[65] *Ibid.*, 263.

vices; furthermore, he had a servant assigned to him, who was usher in the school.[66]

[66] *Northumberland Household Book*, 44, 47, 100, 323. It is possible that Lord John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, went even further than this; he certainly aided in the maintenance of one or two boys at Cambridge, as the following entries in his household accounts show, and it is not unlikely that the fortunate young men had been in his household, or were to fill stations there later.

August, 21st Edward 4th. "Maister Perfoote, for the childe at Cambrigge. Item, my Lord toke him upon rekenyng for the childe xxvj.s. viij.d."

22nd Edward 4th, January 4th. "Item, . . . I, Dalamar [one of Howard's servants] toke to Maister Archer upon rekenyng of the kepyng of my Lordes children at Cambrygge xiij.s. iiij.d." [In Howard's hand, in margin of the MS., "lytel Berweke."]

"Item, to the childe to go to Cambrygge iiij.d."

22nd Edward 4th, April 2nd. "Maister Archer Item, to hym upon rekning of the childe of the Hieth fyndyng at Cambrygge xiij.s. iiij.d. So he hath had xxvj.s. viij.d."

"Item, the same day (June 16th, 22nd Edward 4th) my Lord toke a man, callyd John Latoune, of Cambrige, to take master Barfote iij.s. iiij.d."

"Item, the same yer, and the xx. day of June, my Lord gaff to the same John Latowne for his costes from Cambregge to Foderyngey, and to brynge the chylde from thens to Stoke vj.s. viij.d."

"Bradfeld. And wher my Lord fyndyth young Bradfeld at Cambrige to scole, which begun att Crystmass the xxj. yer of the kyng, he hathe been ther half a yer at this last Midsomer, the xxij. yer of the kyng, for the which my Lord rec. the same yer, and the vj. day of July, of Jhon Bradffeld, the younger, for his parte of the fyndyng of the said childe for half yer xiij.s. iiij.d."

"Mastr Barfott. Item, the xviij. day of Octobre, (22nd. Ed. 4th.) my Lord paied to Mastr Barfot for his ij. chyldre that he fyndyth at Cambrege v.li. xj.s. j.d."

"Archer. The vj. day of Jenever (22nd. Ed. 4th.) my Lord paid to mastr Archer, Master of Arte at Sudbury, for a childe that my Lord feyndeth att Cambryge, callyd Rychard Beryffe, which came in att mydsomer; and my Lord payth for halfe his fyndyng a yere xxvj.s. viij.d.; which xxvj.s. viij.d. my Lord paid hym, as hit ys afor rehersed, and so he ys paid tell mydsomer next eometh."

"Bradffeld of Hythe. Item, the xv. day, (Jan. 22nd Ed. 4th.) my Lord rec. of Bradfelde, at the Hythe, (an ordinary) for the fyndyng of the childe at Cambryge xiij.s. iiij.d."

"Young Bradffeld. Item, the same day, (21st March, 23rd Ed. 4th) my Lord resseyved of young Bradffeld for the chyldes fyndyng at Cambrege, be the handes of Stephyn Howyth vj.s. viij.d."

"Bendysh. Item, the v. day of Aprill, (23rd. Ed. 4th.) my Lord alowed

Business like as these and similar customs at times were, other more exact relationships were established between a noble lord and his servitors through the practices in vogue for hiring and remunerating servants. Despite the presence of responsible officers in a household, few if any of the nobility allowed the many duties connected with hiring and paying servants to get beyond their own ken, and this, after all, is the best commentary on the importance of the servant problem in their eyes.

In 1512, Northumberland's household numbered one hundred and sixty-six people, as before related. The membership was supposed to be maintained at this status also, as decided by the Earl Percy and his council at his castle of Wressil in the aforesaid year.[67] If at any time the regular list of servants was not full, then the chief officers in charge of the house were to inform the earl, so that he could alter the check-roll, or fill up the vacancies in it, either, as he thought best.[68]

The control of this detail was very elaborate. Northumberland had of course, his year's check-roll of the household, family and servants.[69] He had in addition what was called the quarter check-roll, on which were the names of all in the house present for that particular quarter, together with the wages of each servant on duty.[70] This had to be made out regularly for each quar-

Willm Ferth, of Hadleyth, for Bendysh sone, to fynde hym at skole at Cambrege xxvj.s. viij.d.''

''Mastr Stokes. Item, the xxiij. yere of the kynge, and the v. day of Aprill, my Lord delivered to mastr Stokes a sygnement to Geffrey Bl̨edwell, for to resseyve of hym uppon v. markes that my Lord geveff hym yerly to his skole ward, for the terme of Ester last past xl.s. And so he is content unto the said Ester, and more to the summa of vj.s. viij.d.''

''M. Berfotte. And the same day, and the first yere of the kyng (Sat. Oct. 4th, 1st, Ri. 3rd.) my Lord rekyned with mastr Barfote for his childe at Cambryge, callid Willm Marche, and wher he axsyth for a xij. monthe for the said childe, at hit a pereth be his bill more playnlyar un to Myelmesse last past v.li.xj.s. x.d.: and for tother chylde callid Barfelde for a yere un to the said Myelmesse a bove wretyn iij.li. xiiij.s. vij.d.; which drawith ix.li. vj.s. v.d., my Lorde hathe delyverd the said Master Barffote a syngment to yong Jhon Reynfford to rec. of hym the said ix.li. vj.s. v.d.; and so he ys, all thynges rekyned, content un to the said Myelmesse a boffe wretyn for all that he can ax.'' See *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 99, 147, 149, 178, 207, 214, 300, 337-338, 341, 371, 379, 380, 467-468.

67 *Northumberland Household Book*, 46.

68 *Ibid.*, 46.

69 *Ibid.*, 235.

70 *Ibid.*, 64.

ter, by the Clerk of the Kitchen or the Clerk of the Brevements or accounts, and handed in a senet (fourteen days) before each quarter day, so that his lordship could look it over, correct it, have it made up and sign it before the end of that quarter. If amending had to be done, the necessary information therefor was contained in four distinct bills, which were filled out and handed in at the same time by the above-mentioned officers. One had to contain the names of persons who had quit service during the quarter, what their places were and what wages they had drawn. The second was a bill of the ". . . rowmes in the Chequirerolle that laks Persons in theme accordynge to the Ordor of the Chequirerolle . . ." that is, the official list of servants.[71] At first glance one of these two bills seems superfluous. In reality both appear to have been needed. It might have been that at some quarter certain vacancies in the roll were allowed to stand; such would be recalled to the earl's attention each new quarter by the rooms bill, when he could thereupon do his pleasure in regard to them. This was quite a different matter from a fresh vacancy.

The two other bills had likewise to be made out each quarter. One contained the names of all the people in the household not in office, and the reasons why they were there, so that the earl could decide whether to put them into service ". . . or ells to cause theme to departe owte of the house, . . ." In the other were listed the names of all in a particular office above the number provided for it in the official roll, and the reasons why. All four of these bills had to be signed by the earl himself.[72]

The servants in control of this detail were supplied with a formula for each bill, worked out by Northumberland with the help of his council. The following is the style of the rooms bill: "THIS IS THE BILL of the Names of the PARSONNES That wantes in the ROWMES in the Chequirroill made at Michaelmas in th' Eight Yeir of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde Kinge Henry the viijth That shulde fulfill the Hoole Noumbre appointed that my Lorde shulde keip in his Hous for an Hoole Yeir AS the Names of the saide Parsonnes Ande what Parsonnes they be Ande in what Rowmes they waite in my saide

[71] *Northumberland Household Book*, 70.
[72] *Ibid.*, 70-71, and 267.

Lordes Hous Hereaftir followithe in this Bill Signide with my Lordes Hande." [73]

Once a new servant were chosen for duty his lordship sought further to insure himself by insisting upon the administration of an oath of office. Thus it was provided ". . . that what Person somevir he be that cummeth to my Lordes Service That incontinent after he be enterede in the Chequirroill that he be sworne in the Counting-hous by a Gentleman Usher or a Yeoman Usher in the presence of a Hede Officer Ande in their absence befoire the Clarke of the Kitching Aither by suche an Oithe as in the Book of Oithes if any suche be Or ellis by suche an Oithe as they schal seam best by their Discressions." [74]

It is quite impossible to affirm that so elaborate a system as was here in operation was used all over by the nobles; but the same purpose was worked out all over. Henry, Earl of Derby, had his check-roll which was ". . . . to be sett downe onder my L. his hande of the names and nomber of his L. S'vantes generallie to be allowed in his L. house." His lordship was to be closely aware of any substitution in office, for which his license or the permit of the chief officers had to be given. He maintained the usual dependence of all the lower servants on the principal officers in the establishment.[75] There was no hiring of servants without the knowledge of the master therefore, and this was probably universally understood in households at large.

Many nobles went much farther than this, and assumed a direct share in the actual process of engaging their help. The 9th Earl of Northumberland tells his son how at the beginning of his career, he at first chose ". . . yong, handsomme, brave, swaggering, debaucht, wilde, servants . . ." who abetted his wild desires, etc.[76] James, 7th Earl of Derby, says that he would not hire a servant who was either a Puritan or a Jesuit, nor would he willingly take on a musician (I suppose one who could play but did not do so by profession). Again he remarks: "It is very handsome to have comely men to serve you," and advises against married help, as it necessitated keeping the children like-

[73] *Northumberland Household Book*, 267-268.
[74] *Ibid.*, 258.
[75] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 20.
[76] Advice to his son, *Archaeologia*, XXVII, 323.

wise — all servant requisites scarcely to be left to the decision of a proxy. But the earl, further assuring his son against all pitfalls says: "For the first Conjecture one usually will give of a great Man & of his Understanding, is, upon Sight of his Followers & Servants, whether they be able & faithful. For then he is reputed wise, as having Knowledge to discern. I know many great Families of ENGLAND ruin'd, that when I have asked the Reason, usually the Answer was, 'In good Fayth it is a great Pitty — he is well borne — hath had many gallant Gentlemen of his owne Name — He himself is an honest Gentleman — very kind-natur'd, & very liberall — But he hath ill Servants.' He might as well have said in short, his Lordship is a very Foole, & his Men be Knaves."[77] There is no doubt but that the 7th Earl of Derby picked out his servitors!

Lord John Howard, who became Duke of Norfolk in June of 1483, and who was not least among the nobles of his day, often made it a practice to represent in person his side of the contract when new hands were taken on at Stoke. This was the case whether the help were for some specified job on one of his places, or for the regular household service. This nobleman's custom, and probably the English wide manner of the time, was to dicker out the terms of the agreement, and set them down in a formal statement, a veritable indenture, such as the king himself used when he bargained with noblemen, say, for military service. Such a pact must have assumed an awful sanctity in the eyes of the domestic hireling or else the common ground between the high and mighty and the work-a-day folk in their employ was much commoner than is perhaps understood.

The dates and terms of the service were always specified and the agreement was generally clinched, as were all such bargains then, apparently, with a pittance from Howard to his new man, as earnest of his sincerity: "The xxx. day of Jewen, (22d, Edward 4th) I mad konante wethe John Braby, that he schal serve me frome hower Lady day of Sanesyon nexte comhenge to that day xij monthe, and he to have fore is serves be the yere xl.s. And a gowen, and he to fynde hemeselfe bedeng; and I gafe heme in erneste xij.d."[78]

[77] Letter to his son, *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 3, 3, 11-12.
[78] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 211.

Howard used exactly this same detail in hiring some of his more important servants. On January 11, 1482, he personally made covenant with Sir John Leonas of Hadley for a year's service at five marks, and his lordship gave Sir John thereupon 12.d. in earnest.[79] Howard sometimes allowed his Steward to take on a new man, probably when the new-comer was for his department. On August 10, 1482, the Steward, Blyant, agreed with John Baker for his services from Mid-summer to Michaelmas, and the latter received that Saturday 2.s.[80] This form for hiring help was also in use on the Bertie estates; thus in April of 1561, 4½.d. was paid "to Philip Handon the gardiner, to bynde him for a yeare to be servante."[81]

Naturally it was eminently necessary for a nobleman to appoint his officers of household. This was formally done by granting to such men patents of the particular positions for which they were chosen. William ffarington held his office of Steward to Earl Henry of Derby by patent,[82] and his Receiver-Generalship under that earl's successor, the Earl Ferdinando, by a like grant.[83] The 5th Earl of Northumberland spoke of his Surveyor as "promoted by patent,"[84] and of his Dean of the Chapel and his council-men as drawing a certain wage by patent.[85]

Wages were generally reckoned by the quarter or by the year, and were paid according to the custom of the house, quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly, but sometimes with the greatest irregularity. Northumberland paid the large body of his servants half-yearly,[85] but the wages of all were established for the quarter.[86] His Chapel men were regularly paid quarterly and so were his launderers.[87] In 1523 Sir Thomas Lovell paid all of his hands on Michaelmas for the year,[88] but the Earls of Rutland

79 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 150.
80 *Ibid.*, 229.
81 *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 464.
82 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, xxxviii.
83 *Ibid.*, lxiii.
84 *Northumberland Household Book*, 47.
85 *Ibid.*, 47.
85 *Northumberland Household Book*, 28.
86 *Ibid.*, 50.
87 *Ibid.*, 23, 27.
88 *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 260 *et seq.*

after him paid quarterly.[89] Lord John Howard agrees with men for their services from such and such a quarter, and talks about paying servants their quarter's wages,[90] but his actual payments were most irregular and hard to follow. Occasionally many received pay at one time,[91] but again the hire was doled out to his servants in such a scattering fashion and in such varying amounts that one is inclined to believe that his Grace, like many before and since his day, paid up when he had the money.[92]

In 1469 the Duke of Clarence ordered — "ITEM, That all suche persons as shalle attend aboute the said Duke be in a chekker rolle in the kepinge of the clerke of the averye; and that every squyer of housholde have viid.ob. every daye that he waiteth in the courte; every yeoman iiiid. every groome iid. every page suche wages as shalle please the seid Duke; and the seid wages to be payed quarterly in the counting-house; and once clothinge; and also rewardes to suche as be moste diligent, honorable, and profitable; with suche preferment as accordeth to theire desertes." And again — "ITEM, That all suche persons as shalle entend aboute the Duchesse be at wages in certaine by the yeare, and paied quarterly, as it is aforeseid; beinge in a rolle in the kepinge of the clerke of the kichyn, or elles the clerk of the stable."[93] Lord William Howard of Naworth was at times, it seems, in arrears with his wage money, though equally it appears to have been his custom to establish servant hire quarterly and yearly; thus in 1612 part of his wage budget reads as follows: "January. — To Fergus, for one quarter due at Christemas last, x^{s}. 16. To Mrs Jane Slade, for half a yeare due then, iij^{li}. 26. To Anthony Yates, for one quarter due at Candellmas, xvj^{s} viij^{d} Feb. 2. To Harry Baker, for one quarter due at Candellmas, xx^{s},"[94] etc.

An effort was made to avoid complications in wage reckoning

[89] *Ibid.*, 284 *et seq.*, 296, 308, 319 *et seq.*, 362.

[90] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 211 *e.g.*

[91] *Ibid.*, 375 *et seq.*

[92] *Ibid.* One man Benham, for example, was paid as follows: 1481 — Apr. 4th, Aug. 22nd, Aug. 28th, Nov. 28th. In 1483 — Apr. 5th, Apr. 25th, July 12th, Aug. 10th, Sept. 3rd, Dec. 24th. I have worked out four or five other like cases.

[93] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 94.

[94] *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 17.

by taking on help at the regular quarters. These were, of course, Michaelmas, Christmas, Lady-Day, and Mid-summer, or Saint John Baptist. The covenants Lord John Howard made with his new men were all, as above noted, effective from one of the quarters.[95] He had a man, Webbe, hired from Michaelmas, 1481, another, Werwell, from Christmas, three others, at Easter, and so on.[96] The 5th Earl of Northumberland practiced a clever scheme to the same end. It certainly was not always practical or possible to hire help only on a quarter day. If an office fell vacant, it probably had to be filled at once. Northumberland, however, laid down the rule that if a new hand came into service, within one month of a quarter day, on either side of it, he must "enter wages" as the term went, from that quarter, while if he were taken on at any time more than one month from a quarter, his pay then started with the next quarter; under either of these conditions a man might be compelled to work for some time gratis, but the earl also ruled that if he chose to do so, he might, off-hand as it were, reward such a one for service thus rendered.[97]

That great peer was nevertheless as accurate a paymaster as any present day manager of a department store with his relentless time-clock. He supplied no happy-go-lucky fount of shillings and pence for the wayward or the regular absentee among his servants; no work, no pay, was ever his steadfast code. Punctually at every half-year must his charged officials, the Clerk of the Kitchen or of the Brevements, turn in a bill, wherein were the names of such servants as had absented themselves from service without a license, together with the reasons for such absences, the lengths of time they were away and the sums that were therefore to be deducted from the half-year's wage of each. The earl took care, also, to duly sign this bill.[98] He kept a like close eye on the goings-out and the comings-in of his Chapel men, though in their cases, of course, the bill had to be made out quarterly.[99] Again, if it chanced that any of his household went with their master, in the service of the King "beyond the seas,"

[95] *Vide* also *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 362, 382, etc., etc.
[96] *Ibid.*, 362.
[97] *Northumberland Household Book*, 46.
[98] *Northumberland Household Book*, 67.
[99] *Ibid.*, 67.

they received no household wages for the time that they were absent, since they were then in the sovereign's hire. The accounting of such time was in the hands of the same metronomic officers earlier named.[100]

Finally it remains to be said that the quarter day pay system, if rigidly practiced, often entailed hardship on various of the servants who must needs frequently have been as distracted as the down-at-heels university instructor who can but ill span the dreary lenten wastes lying between his thirty-day microscopic budget items, and under the circumstances, they, like that lean shadow of misery, learned to deal in futures. Thus Lady Howard (Lord John's wife) pays Roger of the wardrobe 3.s:4.d. on his wages to buy "hosen."[101] At another time the same kindness is extended to another of the household men, Thomas Seyneclow, "on his wage," whose hosen, too, were ill-timed in mid-season on their last legs![102]

So common was this practice in the Northumberland household that it developed a special book-keeping to take care of it. Each quarter when pay-day drew near, the Clerk of the Kitchen or of the Brevements had to call on the Cofferer, and Clerk of the Treasury — fellow officers, for the bill of all "prests of wages" which had been paid out by them at the earl's order in part payment of wages. These items were then deducted from the amounts otherwise due to such luckless servants, when the wage bill was duly made up and signed by Northumberland.[103]

While it is not necessary to specify the rates of wages paid to servants, it may be intimated that the gross sums thus expended in the course of a year were large, and formed a goodly portion of the annual household expenditure. In 1469, George, Duke of Clarence, paid 1099£:1s:4d for servant hire, his entire running cost for the year being 4505£:15s:10d and eleven twenty-fourths. So closely did his clerk figure![104] Northumberland's hired help cost him yearly, at the rate of payment adopted in 1512, 189£:6s:8d, in a yearly total of 933£6s:8d.[105] Edward, Earl of Derby,

[100] *Ibid.*, 67.
[101] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 317.
[102] *Ibid.*, 192.
[103] *Northumberland Household Book*, 70-71.
[104] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 104-105.
[105] *Northumberland Household Book*, 28.

paid 299£:19s to servants in 1561, which year it cost him 2895£:6d to run his house;[106] while in the 28th year of Henry 8th, 49£:8s:9d was the quarter's wage paid by the Earl of Rutland to his servants.[107]

Very often too, in looking at the mere money item one has but a part of the story of these bargains between a nobleman and his servants. According to the agreement, when a servant was hired, perhaps a bit of the money he received was swallowed up in some trade material he had to furnish, or, on the other hand, he was allowed so much wages, and so much cloth or clothing. Northumberland's Armourer received four marks a year for taking charge of the earl's "stuff," which included all his armor, and the man was to furnish ". . . al manar of stuf for Clensynge of the said stuf."[108] His arras mender, if he were a groom received 33s:4d a year in wages, and 20s for ". . . fyndyng of al manar of stuf belonging to his facultie except Silk and Golde. . ."[109] Each butcher in this same household receiced 33s:4d a year if he were a yeoman, and if a groom, 20s and was ". . . to be owte of Meit and Drynk and all other charges of the Hous."[110] On October 29, 1481, Lord John Howard's Will of Bakehouse was paid 5s in cash and got in addition two yards and three-quarters of cloth.[111] On January 18th, of the next year, Agnes of the chamber received 5s from Lady Howard, and 6s:8d for her gown — announcing herself as satisfied with these findings of the year's clearing-house.[112] On November 19, 1482, Lord Howard himself delivered to Rose Delroy on her wages "a plyth and a half of lawn" which cost 3s, and another, to Katherine of the Chamber, worth 2s.[113] Thomas the Harper had his lyard (grey) gown in addition to his wages, and on January 9, 1481, 6s:8d was laid out for "2 yerdes of narowe cloth" for that amiable purpose.[114]

Such terms as these were always found right in the agree-

106 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 5, 7.
107 *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 286.
108 *Northumberland Household Book*, 48.
109 *Ibid.*, 48.
110 *Ibid.*, 48.
111 *Howard Household Books*, 125.
112 *Ibid.*, 343.
113 *Ibid.*, 319.
114 *Ibid.*, 149.

ments made with servants when they were hired. On January 17th, 1483, Lord John Howard had a "reckoning" as he always called it, with his Bailiff, in the course of which it was made evident that that servitor had come to him the year before at Candlemass, and had agreed by covenant to serve Howard for 40s a year "for hym and his wyffe, and ther clothyng" — further, this year, Howard had delivered him his "gown cloth" and 6s:8d to his wife for her gown, etc.[115] On March 8th of that same year, Lord Howard was himself, as usual, making out the terms of service with a man, and the bargain was concluded thus: ". . . that he shalbe with my Lord a qrtr, from our Lady day next comenge, for the summa of xiij.s. iiij.d. And so my Lord wull geff hym, affter that qrtr, for a yere lenger, affter the same wages, and a gown."[116]

Once in a while the wages of a servant seem thoughtfully to have been adapted to the circumstances of his case; Northumberland vouchsafes the half apologetic explanation for the 40s a year he paid to each of his footmen, perhaps to protect those folk from envious fellow servitors, that it was ". . . bicause of the moch Werynge of his stuf with labor."[117] Not many cases of such sensible solicitude appear, however.

What official actually attended to the payment of the household wages seems to have depended simply on individual practice. Northumberland's Chamberlain and Treasurer, who in 1512 were respectively Sir John Norton and Gefferay Proctor, stood charged with the important duty that year in his household;[118] they did not, however, pay the quarterly laundry bill which was entrusted to the Clerk of the Kitchen. In 1522 Sir Thomas Lovell's Receivor paid the servants' wages,[119] while in 1561 the same official in the household of Edward, Earl of Derby, handled such moneys in part.[120]

On John Howard's estate at Stoke, that busy lord again and again took upon himself this business. Apparently he did not feel it beneath his duty to take the humblest domestic her hire.

[115] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 342-343.
[116] *Ibid.*, 362.
[117] *Northumberland Household Book*, 48.
[118] *Northumberland Household Book*, 27-28.
[119] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 260, Hist. Mss. Com.
[120] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 5.

On August 22, 1482, he paid Agnes the chamberer 6s:8d for wages.[121] He paid the mole-killer[122] and the bird-taker,[123] or the beer brewer,[124] the baker, butcher[125] — any, in fact, working for him. If it chanced that his lordship were away from home, which was frequently the case, then his lady might assume this work, along with the other responsibilities she was at such times wont to shoulder; nor did it matter to her into what department of the household such a duty carried her. Once when Howard was in London, she paid 18s to the workmen, who were tile-makers, carpenters, plasterers and pond-makers, together with 3s to one Bakon for thrashing out nine quarters of barley and oats, and other sums to carters, the smith and the broom-maker.[126] It was quite her custom to pay the female help in the household also.[127]

At the end of the 16th century, the Steward, of the officers in the household, was charged with paying the wages of the servants.[128] This may have been a custom long in practice too; thus Lord John Howard's Steward, the man Blyant, frequently paid different men in the household at Stoke, but these were almost always hands in his own department. In September of 1481 he paid mowers.[129] In June of the next year, mowers, and "year men" (men who had contracted for a year's service), while in October of 1481 a little group of gleaners, men and women, engaged in getting in the after-math, or "rowin," were paid by Howard through his Steward.[130] Blyant was quite apt to pay for carting and hauling,[131] for smithy's work,[132], carpenter hire,[133] tilers,[134] and others. Very frequently, however, in

121 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 99.
122 *Ibid.*, 374.
123 *Ibid.*, 425.
124 *Ibid.*, 176.
125 *Ibid.*, 176.
126 *Ibid.*, 184.
127 *Ibid.*, 51, 108, 170, 173, 183, 284, 304, etc.
128 *Breviate, Archaeologia*, XIII, 316.
129 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 114.
130 *Ibid.*, 119.
131 *Ibid.*, 174, 188 *e.g.*
132 *Ibid.*, 185.
133 *Ibid.*, 198.
134 *Ibid.*, 198 (*vide* also 207, 208, 212, 216, 225-226, 228-229, 290, 299, etc.)

this same household, other men assumed responsibility for paying servants and other hired help, and it is impossible to tell who they were. One such man was called Dalamar,[135] while another was a curious factotum by the name of Skynner,[136] and many times, Giles Seneclow, or his brother Thomas,[137] who largely wrote up the household books, paid the servants off.

In addition to the regular money wages, various of the servants in every household received either certain "fees" as the little perquisites of their offices were called, or their equivalent in money, which sums were likewise known as fees. The list of such possible fees is very interesting. It was strictly, of course, each man after his kind. The Yeomen of the Horse got the discarded saddles and bridles of the Yeomen and Grooms of that department; while the Yeoman Rider had his own played-out equipment. To the Coachman and Waggoner went the old wagons, and the broken wheels of both wagons and coaches which had run their last circuit; the Grooms had the worn-out horse shoes and the stable dung. The fees of the Clerks of the Kitchen were calves' and lambs' heads and skins. When gaming or "play" was allowed in the Hall, the Usher and Groom of the Hall had the privilege of sharing the profit of the "box";[138] in fact two-thirds of its contents went to the Usher, and the remainder to the Groom; the same was done with rewards given in the Hall, "except ther be several givers to them." The Yeoman Usher and Groom of the Great Chamber had similarly for their fees the income of the box when play went on in the big chamber or the dining room, each man receiving half; but the profits of the box in the withdrawing chamber or the galleries went to the grooms of the bed-chambers, a part of whose duties it was "to keepe faire those Roomes." The Yeoman of the cellar had the wine lees and the empty casks; he of the pantry, the bread "chippings."[139] The Yeoman of the ewery got the candle ends and

[135] *Ibid.*, 100, 109, etc.

[136] *Ibid.*, 211, *e.g.*

[137] *Ibid.*, 133, 282, 283, 287, 291, 320, 378, 390, etc.

[138] Could this mean that stakes were so divided, or were there little charges for the right to enter the game?

[139] A technical term, certain bread was "chipped" to prepare it for use. George, Duke of Clarence orders—". . . no loofe [of bread] to be paired, excepte for my lorde and his bourde, all other looves to be chipped . . ." — *Ordinances*, 95.

parings, while in the kitchen a soggy, swill-ripe miscellany of drippings, skimmed fat, broken bones, necks, giblets and feathers of fowls, together with rabbit and cony skins, went, the half of it to the Master Cook, his first assistant being allowed also a proportionate share, while the remainder of the sorry mess was to be divided among the young cooks. The slaughterman could lay claim to the heads of beeves, minus the tongues, and to the sheep's heads and plucks. The baker's fee was the bran which remained after he and the groom had bolted their flour; and finally, the brewers had the "grains and yeast" (that is the malted grain after it had been used in the brewing).[140]

These droll hack-ends were often sold by the servants; Brathwait says: ". . . and they (the yeoman and groom) must sell out none (bread-chippings) vntill they have bene by some of them (the officers) vewed; . . ."[141] and apparently some of the houses directly bought up these vales for home use; thus "fees" formed quite a substantial part of one division of the gross household expenses of Edward, Earl of Derby's establishment, in 1561, where they were figured on a money basis: ". . . In ffees and Wages payd by the Receiv' w^{t} $xiij^{li}$ vj^{s} $viij^{d}$ for his own ffee . . . $^{x}iiij^{x}$ j^{li} $iiij^{s}$ ij^{d}." [142] In the weekly accounts of his successor, Henry, so many pecks of "chippings" were a regular item, and these together with the "broken beer" fees, the earl, in 1567, forbade both the Yeoman of the Pantry and his butlers to sell; they were reserved for the poor, and at the time of the yearly auditing of the accounts those officers were given 30s each "in lue thereof." [143]

In the household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland this regulation was established: "ITEM My Lorde useth and accustomyth to pay yerly owte of his Lordships Coffures to the Yoman and Grome of his Lordships Pantre Which standith chargede with the saide Pantre for as much Chippings of Trencher-Brede and other Brede of ther Vaillis as doith serve for the fedyinge of my Lords Howndis daily thorow owt the Yere Ande so to be paid unto them for that cause at ij tymes of the Yere Viz. at

140 Brathwait, for all these facts.
141 *Ibid.*, 29.
142 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 5.
143 *Ibid.*, 21.

our Lady Day and Michalmas After vjs. viijd. at aither Day in full Contentacion for the hole Yere — xiijs. iiijd." [144]

The whole practice was a foolishly benevolent one, which often must sorely have tugged the strained moral fibre of the poor servants, and now and again a man went down too before such buffetings of the devil. Thus the chief officials in the households had to view the wine lees and the empty casks before the yeomen took them from the cellar. They must keep sharp watch lest the Yeoman and Groom of the Pantry when preparing the bread for use "chopp of great peeces of the bottomes of the loaves, to make the chippings the better;" or lest the Yeoman of the Ewery allow the chandlers to cheat in the weight and quality of their lights so that they in return, "would pleasure him" by making those same lightes "to be longer at the great ends, very neare three fingers breadth of tallow than the cotton or wicke doth reach," which sizable chunk he could cut off and throw in with his parings. The brewers had to be watched to see that they properly stirred the malt when it was in the vat with the liquor "and not to leave the strength to remaine in the graines, being their fees; that such as buy the same of these, putting liquor thereto, may draw good drincke forth thereof." The Yeoman Baker if left to his own devices, was prone laxly to superintend the miller's grinding, for the bran being the former's fee, his temptation to let the miller grind coarse were a dancing one; his evil genius might again play him false when he and the groom were bolting the meal; how easy for them to allow a good portion of flour to remain, thus enriching their bran! In the household of George, Duke of Clarence, a special officer had to be on hand when lard was being made to see to it that no fees were prematurely taken before the household was "sufficiently served, for fryinge, and for the uncture of the chariottes and cartes, as it shall be needefull. . ." [145] So it went with every office.[146] The stable and horse men, if they were at all human and like their fellows of to-day, must have been apt indeed to pronounce early on the decrepitude of their office furnishings, had they to take sly measures to assure their verdict. What

[144] *Northumberland Household Book*, 353.

[145] *Household Ordinances*, 95.

[146] All fees were under supervision in the household of George, Duke of Clarence. See *Royal Household Ordinances*, 95-96.

erring mortal would not have played such tricks if his hosen gave out and quarter day were as far off as it might be in such a crisis!

Finally, still as part of the practical relationship established between a nobleman and his servants, were the prevailing practices of furnishing to servants certain clothing, and allowing them certain food. In some households the sums paid yearly for livery cloth and badges for the servants were large. The 7th Earl of Derby (17th century) advised his son to have all of his servants under the yeomen in livery.[147] Earlier it was customary for all servitors to be thus appareled. In 1469 George, Duke of Clarence, furnished cloth for both long and short gowns to two hundred and ninety-nine servants including "Chambyrlayne, hedde officers, knyghtes, and ladyes," the whole costing him that year 308£:3s:4d.[148] In 1561 Edward Derby's Receiver paid 152£:18s:7d for cloth for this purpose.[149] John Carleton, Receiver in 1522 for Sir Thomas Lovell, laid out that year 42£:12½d to one "Rycherd Marche for xj peces of brode cloth made at Redeng the colour light tawney orenge colour. . ." In the lot were five pieces measuring one hundred and twenty-nine and a half yards, at 3s:4d the yard, five pieces measuring one hundred and thirty-one yards at 3s a yard, and one of five and a quarter yards, at 2s:10d the yard.[150] On May 6th of 1578 livery cloth cost Lord North of Kirtling 23£:3s:8d, while in 1581, he paid 8£:3s:4d for "vij score yardes freese" for the same purpose.

Livery cloth indeed could occasionally prove an annoying and expensive item to a nobleman. In June of 1483, Lord John Howard became Duke of Norfolk, and verily cloth figured large, for some time, at least, in the background of his existence. Before July 19th of that year, livery material, blue, red, tawny — some coarse and some fine, had been purchased in the customary large pieces of twenty-one to twenty-five yards each, from men in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Suffolk, who may have been in London, and also from men who were apparently London drapers (Foster, Porter, Davis, Stoddard, Hartwell, Cappell

147 Second Letter to his son, *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 3, 3, 46.
148 *Royal Household Ordinances*, 105.
149 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 5.
150 *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 262.

and Whight are named). The entire bill for this footed up at 156£:9s:6d. In addition to this cloth, Howard also purchased, on June 2nd, 1483, from one Thomas Coles, a London skinner, enough tawny camlet, black damask, holland, black velvet, tuke russet, tawny damask, black satin, cloth of gold, green satin, plunket camlet, tawny satin, purple velvet, black buckram, "nayle" velvet and white tuke, to leave a handsome debit of 156£:16s:2d upon the merchant's books. These were neat items, but a deal of the cloth, all of the livery, it seems, was broadcloth, for the "barbing," "shearing" and "sewing" of which, other costs, from 4d up to 3£:12s, had to be paid. All told, to fit out the household in new attire for so impressive but withal festive an event, was an expensive luxury of which his lordship must have been quite aware.

Howard and his wife paid on these cloth bills from time to time. On July 16th the duchess paid forty marks to two different men "in part payment for cloth for the livery," while on August 10th the duke himself had a reckoning with the man Davis, mentioned above, when it was discovered that his Grace was owing the merchant 16£ to date for cloth; Howard thereupon paid Davis half the sum and agreed to pay the balance "at Bartelmew tyde nexst folewyng." He was as good as his word too — a later hand having entered upon his books: "Hit ye al payde, as hit a perith after wards."

What with the cloth, however, and other expenses attendant on his entrance to his dukedom, such as paying for his letters patent, with their seal fee, having the goldsmith properly furbish up his sword, and repair his "garter" along with other work, having new arras worked with the crest, lions, "Dytyng and dressyng his swerd at his creacion," joiner's fees for tipped staves, engraving his new signet, and little grace sums like that paid to the clerk of the duchy, the new duke was quite pressed, if not seriously, at least for ready money. He paid for only a part of his cloth, nor could he pay entirely for his tipped staves, giving the joiners but 40s, and in addition he got Thomas Coles to go surety for him to a "Lombard" for 88£:6s:2d. The Lombard, according to Howard's signetted bill of July 20, 1483, was one Alysandir Portenary, merchant of Florence, and was perhaps the same Italian from whom Howard had at another time

58£ — likewise through the agency of Coles, who must have been a reliable man. Both the loans were duly paid upon September 13th, for the clerk entered on that date, "which sum ys paid up and content, and so ys both Jhon Colle [he must have meant Thomas] and the bill scansellyd and my Lord payd the money." [151]

All this was extra expense so that the household might be all spick and span, à la mode, for the "creation"; but Lord John Howard, like all of the nobles, had always paid regularly for clothing and shoes, as well as for mending hosen and clouting worn foot-wear for many of his servants; particularly were the children of the chapel, those in the kitchen, the stable men and boys and Richard the Fool thus looked after, and the payments of such items were generally intrusted to the man called Skinner whom we noted earlier: Thus on October 13, 1481, "My Lord payd Skynner that he leyd owte for a peyre of choys to the lad of the ketchyn Campbell vjd, . . ." [152] or a fuller bill of July 11th, when he paid 8d for a "scherte to Jonge of the Kechin;" 2d for "mendyng of Robyn of the stabell his hossyn;" 6d for a "peyer of schoys to Mond of the bake howse;" and 5d for a "peyer of schoys for George of the Kechyn."

It was the practice with the Earl of Surrey, Lord Howard's son, to have regular settlements of accounts for such items as these, with different craftsmen — tailors, shoemakers and others. "M^{d}. A reconyng mad with Jakson, the tayllor, (Jan. 5th-6th Henry 7th) and then he reconyd for the makyng of vij tany gowyns for the chyldreen of the chapell, takyng for the pese makyng vjd. Item, for ij gowyns for the henchemen xij.d.; and for the makyng of a gowyn for Jak the chambur vj.d. and for the makyng of a dowbelett, and a peyer of hosyn lyned, for Holcote, xviij.d.; and for the makyng of ij. cotes to Richart, Robyn and John Feney xij.d. Item, for v. yardes of whyte lyneng to the sayd dowbelett cotes ij.s j.d. Item for a yard of whyt fryse to make a qrtr to Alderson gown vj.d. Item, for dyeng of the lyneng for the henchemens gownys, and Jak of the chambers viij.d. Item, for the makyng of a dowbelett to Magnus chyld of the brewhowse x.d; and for hys hosyn makyng iiij.d. Item, for

151 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 406-443.

152 *Ibid.*, 117, 215. Further instances, 31, 49, 117, 148-149, 164, 167, etc.

the same Magnus a whyt cote and a payre sloppes, makyng viij.d.'' [153] One of the reckonings for shoes is interesting: ''M^{d}. Reconyd with Wyllyam Palmer, the v. day of Januare anno vj^{to} H. vij^{mi}; and that day he reconyd from the fest of Saynt Michell, anno vj^{to} H. vij^{mi}, unto the fest of Crystmas then next folyyng the same, for all such shoys as [he] hath delyvered: fyrst to the chylderyn of the chapell by the sayd space xxvp. payre of shewys, takyng for the payre iiij.d. Item, to Magnus chyld of the brewhows, iij. payre shewis, price xviij.d. Item, for Lobb j. payre shewis, price vj.d.: in toto xiiij.s.'' [154]

Probably livery cloth was furnished to their servants by the nobles largely as a matter of pride, and also in self defense. In cases where inferior servants and children were quite at a nobleman's ''finding,'' protective measures also worked additional expenses. In the Bertie household 6.d. was paid in January of 1562 ''For a payre syssers to poll the boyes of the kychen''! [155] The tousled head of a kitchen-boy! What a nursery for ''crawlin' ferlies''! No wonder they polled them!

So far as the food is concerned which servants received from their noble masters, it has already been pointed out that the chief officers in the households sat at the first table in the Hall, and were served with about the same food as the noble master and his family enjoyed; many of the humbler servants, of course, dined later than their superiors, and had plainer food, except in so far as they might share in the provision of the upper tables by what was known as the ''reversion.'' That, however, brings up the whole question of the dining service, which is interesting enough for a separate study.

In conclusion, there is little of the novel or strange, after all, in these relationships between the nobles and their servants. The aristocratic class appears to have been very human, and many in it loved their ''household men.'' Even the 9th Earl of Northumberland, whose experiences with his servitors began so inauspiciously, wrote long afterward — ''And this I must truely testify for servants out of experience, that in all my fortunes good and badde, I have found them more reasonable than ether

[153] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 518.

[154] *Ibid.*, 518.

[155] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 469.

wyfe, brothers or friends . . .''[156] — a strong but pathetic eulogium! Further, Stow in his annals records Edward, Earl of Derby's ''joyful parting the World; his taking leave of all his servants by shaking of hands; and his Remembrance to the last''[157] — than which there could not be a more touching and worthy memorial!

It was surely this grateful esteem, in part, which called an entire household also, family and servants, to participate in the last offices in honor of a defunct nobleman, a common bond of sympathy in suffering drawing all together. A contemporary account of ''The Solemn funeral of Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury'' which took place on October 21st, 1560, describes fully ''the manner of the proceeding to the church with the corps. . .'' In the long procession, among many others, were the choir, the Gentlemen of the household, all the Chaplains of the deceased, the principal officers, the Officers of Arms and all the Yeomen of the household. Certain of the Gentlemen and officers shared in part of the services too, including the offering, and finally, when the body was placed in the tomb, ''then the officers of the household and the gentlemen ushers, with the porter, broke their staves[i.e. their white staves, symbols of their offices] and soe departed to the Castle.''[158]

The nobles treated their waged hands as many people handle their servants to-day, and where a curious practice at first strikes us as odd or strange, there is sure to go with it a human nature, our very own under the circumstances, which bridges across the wide lapse of time, and makes as feel at home in those old days in so uncanny a fashion that the somber words of that pessimistic Scotchman, James Thompson, appal us with their dreary truth:

> The cards are shuffled to and fro,
> The hands may very somewhat so;
> The dirty pack's the same we know,
> Played with long thousand years ago;
> Played with and lost with still by man,
> Fate marked them ere the game began.
> — *Vane's Story.*

156 Advice to his son, *Archaeologia*, XXVII.
157 Stow, *Fol. Edit.*, 448.
158 Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 254 *et seq.*

CHAPTER III

THE FOOD OF THE NOBILITY

"Thingis wilom vsed ben now leyd a syde
And newe feetis dayly ben contreuide
Mennys actes can in no plyte abyde
They be changeable ande ofte meuide
Thingis somtyme alowed is now repreuid
And after this shal thinges vp aryse
That men set now but at lytyl pryse"
— Caxton: *Book of Curtesye* — E. E. T. S., p. 45.

The presumptuous motto, "Tell me what you eat and I'll tell you what you are," boldly trumpeted by certain present day exponents of a farinaceous diet would but ill suit as a plummet to fathom a Tudor noble's character. Withal, however, it is instructive, if it but awakens fond dreamers on "the good old times" to discover by what means our lusty aristocracy, in days long gone, kept body and soul together.

The sixteenth century English were great consumers of food. Contemporary foreign comment on the national propensity to feed hugely was frequent. Van Meteren, the Antwerp merchant, diplomat and historian, resident in England during the entire reign of Elizabeth, characterizes the people as ". . . eloquent and very hospitable; they feed well and delicately, and eat a great deal of meat; and as the Germans pass the bounds of sobriety in drinking, these do the same in eating, for which the fertility of the country affords them sufficient means, . . ."[1] Nicander Nucius, who traveled in England during 1545 and 1546, recorded in his notebook: "The race of men indeed is fair, inclining to a light color, . . ." He then goes on to describe the English as "flesh eaters, and insatiable of animal food; sottish and unrestrained in their appetites; . . ."[2]

[1] Van Meteren, *History of the Netherlands*, cited in Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, 70.

[2] *Travels of Nicander Nucius*, 16. Camden Society, London, 1841.

In addition to this rather caustic criticism from sojourners in their country, a carefully informed native like the historian Harrison asserts that the tables of his countrymen were often more plentifully laden than those of other nations, and scientifically apologizes for this worship of King Belly by his fellow men in this wise: "The situation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, dooth cause the heate of our stomaches to be of somewhat greater force: therefore our bodies doo craue a little more ample nourishment, than the inhabitants of hotter regions are accustomed withall, whose digestiue force is not altogither so

There are still other well known comments like the above; the German jurist, Paul Hentzner, who traveled in England in 1598, says of the English people, "They are more polite in eating than the French, consuming less bread but more meat, which they roast to perfection." Paul Hentzner's *Travels in England*, cited in Rye, *op. cit.*, 110.

The Dutch physician and ecclesiastic, Levinus Lemnius, traveling in England in 1581, writes in a more appreciative vein; speaking first of the "incredible curtesie and frendlines in speache and affability used in this famous realme," and delightfully chronicling "the neate cleanlines, the exquisite finenesse, the pleasaunte and delightfull furniture in every poynt for household," he then continues: "And this do I thinck to be the cause that Englishmen, lyving by such holesome and exquisite meate, and in so holesome and healthful ayre be so freshe and cleane coloured: . . . At their tables althoughe they be very sumptuous, and love to have good fare, yet neyther use they to overcharge themselves with excesse of drincke, neyther thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drincke in such measure as best pleaseth hymselfe, whych drinck being eyther Ale or Beere, most pleasaunte in tast and holesomely relised, they fetch not from foreine places, but have it amonge themselves brewed." *Notes on England, 1560*, by Levinus Lemnius, cited in Rye, *op. cit.*, 78-79.

Finally a Venetian, probably a nobleman, who accompanied an ambassador from the Republic to England about the year 1500, touched this point in his report made to the Senate on his return home. "They (the English) take great pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at table, being very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense. . . The deficiency of wine, however, is amply supplied by the abundance of ale and beer, to the use of which these people are become so habituated, that, at an entertainment where there is plenty of wine, they will drink them in preference to it, and in great quantities." And once again, "Besides which the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves, and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance." *A Relation, or Rather a True Account of the Island of England* (etc.), Camden Society, 1847, 21, 25.

vehement, bicause their internall heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the coldnesse of the aire, that from time to time (speciallie in winter) dooth enuiron our bodies.''[3] This is a naïve declaration and as true as the latest diatetic ''discovery'' vouchsafed to a gullible public through the columns of a twentieth century medical journal; it stands, however, as grave evidence from a studious observer, of the fact that the English were ''pamperers of their carcasses'' beyond the wont of the rest of the world. All of these men were speaking of the English people as a whole, but especially do their assertions characterize the practices of the nobility in this respect. That class led the nation in cherishing a love of good cheer.

A whimsical dictate of that perfect lady, Clio, has preserved for us a curious document of the early 17th century[4] which contains a veritable treasure trove of information about the management of a nobleman's house. One part of it is a detailed list of seasonable food available for a lordly establishment, all neatly tabulated item by item, under the general caption ''a Monthlie Table, with a Diatorie belonginge thereunto, of all such provisions as bee in seasone through the whole yeare.'' Commencing with January, and following along with each month of the twelve, the so-called ''grosse'' or staple articles of food are first noted for each month; thereafter come tables of the ''Foules'' and ''Fische'' which ''bee nowe in seasone'' likewise for each month, together with a suitable ''diatree'' for dinner and supper, the little treatise concluding with grand or summary tables of necessary provisions for the whole year.

A study of this list leaves one with the impression that the eager purveyors to the tables of the English aristocracy went over their christendom with a drag net. There was scarcely a living creature which habited the air, the dry land, or the waters under the earth, whose right to exist was not sounded by these zealous officials.

Among the winged kind, full sixty-three birds were eaten. Of these, in addition to the common barn-yard fowls, were several such as quail, pigeons, grouse and partridge, also well known to-

[3] Harrison's *Description of England*, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1, 278, London, 1807.

[4] ''A Breviate Touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman's House,'' etc., *Archaeologia*, XIII, 315 *et seq.*

day, and still highly valued for their delicate flesh. Further, many of the water fowls which frequented either the fresh streams and lakes or the sea lands, including teals, shovelers, stints, godwits, diddapers, bitters (bitterns), aukes, rails, barnacles, puffins, widgeons, terns and others, are likewise yet known to some folks as food. On the other hand, a few, like "kennices," "bayninge," and "blonkett," it is hard, if not impossible, to identify. Perhaps they are in England extinct birds, along with the crane, egret, and brewe, which latter, however, are recognizable.

Bishop Percy, commenting on this sort of food which was largely eaten by the Earl of Northumberland's household, says: "In the List of Birds here served up to Table, are many Fowls which are now (late 18th century) discarded as little better than rank Carrion."[5] We agree by instinct with that learned man, our stomachs rebelling at the thought of banquetting on fish-eating sea gulls and cranes or the unspeakable bustard species, until we read old Mussett's[6] recipes for preparing some of these outlandish creatures for food. In able fashion he either puts each bird through a refining novitiate, or so subtly be-sauces and be-spices him, that before we are aware, our mouths are a-hunger after the flesh pots of the earl's kitchen, while in a dyspeptic bewilderment we wonder what this culinary magician might have done with Lazarus!

Here follows his procedure with an unseemly trilogy — the stork, bitter, and heron — "To render . . . (them) . . . fit to be eaten." One is to select the youngest and fattest, and after having first removed the skins according to the French fashion which makes them relish far better, the flesh is then to be well seasoned with much spice, salt, or onion, then thoroughly steeped in a draught of old wine, when it is to be stuffed full of sweet herbs and drawn with fine and small lard.[7]

The evil bustard, upon whose carrion flesh all of the nobility were wont at times to regale themselves, is to that purpose transformed into "a dainty and wholesome meat" either through dieting for a day or two on white bread, or preferably, by " . . .

[5] *Northumberland Household Book*, Notes, 425.

[6] A contemporary dietitian.

[7] Mussett, *Treatise on Food*, London, 1655. Quoted in *Archaeologia*, XIII, in notes to the "Breviate."

keeping him altogether fasting, that he may scour away his ordure; . . .'' when, after bleeding him to death in the neck veins, and mellowing him by hanging him for three or four days in a cool place, ''out of the moon-shine,'' he is fit to be baked or roasted! The crane, ''bred in our English fens,'' being young, killed with a goshawk, hanged two or three days ''by the heels,'' eaten with hot gelentine [8] and ''drowned in sack'' is permitted unto indifferent stomachs.

This is heroic, for Mussett's fellow citizens knew, of course, as well as did Bishop Percy, that many of these birds were unclean in their native state; one Lawrens Andrewe, for example, wrote of these two very fowls as follows:

''The Bistarda is a birde as great as an egle, of the maner of an egel, and of suche colour, saue in the winges & in the tayle it hath some white feders; he hath a crooked byll, & longe talants. and it is slowe of flight & whan he is on the grownde, than must he ryse. iij. or iiij. tymes or he can come to any fulle flight, he taketh his mete on the erth; for v.or.vi. of them togeder be so bold that they festen on a shepe & tere hym a-sonder & so ete the flesshe of him & this birde dothe ete also of dede bestes & stinkyn caryon, and it eteth also grasse & grene erbes & it layeth his eggis vpon the grounde, & bredeth them out the while that the corne groweth on the felde.''

''The flesshe of him (*i.e.*, the crane) is grosse, & not good to disiest & it maketh malancolious blode . . .'' etc. [9]

Our gastronomic genius, however, with subjective vehemence utterly rejects the puffin, yet with an adroit assertion of the truth in the old proverb ''de gustibus.'' He declares that ''Puffins being Birds and no Birds, that is to say Birds in show and Fish in substance, or, as one may justly call them, feathered

[8] A kind of sauce. ''PIKE IN GALENTYNE. Take a pike and seth him ynowe in gode sauce; And then couche him in a vessell, that he may be y-carried yn, if thou wilt; And what tyme he is colde, take brede, and stepe hit in wyne and vinegre, and cast there-to canell, and drawe hit thorgh a streynour, And do hit in a potte, And cast there-to to pouder peper; And take smale oynons, and myce hem, And fry hem in oyle, and cast there-to a fewe saunders, (Sandal) and lete boyle awhile; And cast all this hote vppon the pike, and cary him forth.'' — *Two 15th Century Cookery-Books*, 101.

[9] Quoted by Furnivall in Part 2 of *Manners and Meals in Olden Times*, 218-219, from ''The noble lyfe and natures of man,'' by Lawrens Andrewe.

Fishes, are of ill taste and worse digestion how dainty soever they may seem to strange appetites, and are permitted by Popes to be eaten in Lent." [10]

If such a wry face as this, together with these introductory "renderings fit to eat" by subsequent drownings in this or that scented bath of oblivion, make us eerie of comestible virtues at best but doubtful, the outburst of Epicurean enthusiasm which such birds as the godwit inspired, leaves little room for suspicion in regard to their acceptance as wholesome food. Mussett, who proves a thorough aristocrat, tells us that "a fat godwite is so fine and light a meat, that noblemen, (yea and merchants too, by your leave) stick not to buy them at four nobles a dozen." [11]

In fact, many of these birds which found their way to the tables of the nobility were rare delicacies. Harrison, after enumerating a goodly number known in his England, says that there were ". . . diuerse other, whose names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taste of their flesh, wherewith I was neuer acquainted." [12]

The water creatures of the rivers and deeps were yet more generously drawn upon for food by the nobles. The sorts of fish eaten, fresh and salt, together with crabs, bivalves, and so on, count some seventy-two. Here, again, while we discover many well known sea-foods, including herring, mackerel, salmon, sturgeon, ling, haberdine, trout, perch, lobsters, sprats, and oysters, there are other present-day "zoo" oddities, like seals and porpoises, commonly enumerated along with the rest of their amphibious ilk, so that, as in the case of the birds, one is compelled to believe that almost anything which might be caught was sampled for food. Porpoise was commonly enough eaten, however, so that Skelton's line in his curious piece, "Speke, Parrot,"

With Porpose and Graundepose may he fede hym fatte,[13]

probably expressed a possible treat within the easy reach of many.

But fads in food were as rife then as to-day. Mussett says of

[10] *Op. cit., Archaeologia,* XIII.
[11] *Op. cit., Archaeologia,* XIII.
[12] Harrison, *Description of England,* Holinshed, 1, 374.
[13] Skelton's *Poems,* Dyce, 2, 261 *et seq.*

this very sea-hog: "It is an unsavory meat, engendering many superfluous humors, augmenting phleagm, and troubling no less an indifferent stomach, then they trouble the waters against a tempest: yet many ladies and gentlemen love it exceedingly, bakd like venison: yea I know a great gentlewoman in Warwick Lane once send for a pasty of it, given from a courtier when the prisoners of Newgate had refused the Fellow of it out of a beggars basket. Thus *like lips like lettice*, and that which is most men's bane may be fittest to delight and nourish others."[14] He dismisses seal's flesh with disdain, as fit only for the stomachs of mariners and sailors, who also knew the best way to prepare it. With eloquence, though, does he proclaim the crevice (cray-fish) "a fine temperate and nourishing meat, which the English do foolishly . . . to eat . . . last."[15]

What a jewel Mussett would have been to pinnacle the greasy diadem of a Chicago packer! But we are duly thankful for that beneficent hand which places such men where their providential rôles are most widely effective. To think of an English earl and his lady, dressed as the Tudor nobility alone in that day could apparel themselves, trumpeted in magnificent state to a board on which a delicate entry of baked crane or bustard would appear! . . . But what if unskilful hands had served up the unregenerate carrion off the wing!

No hard Hebraic Law limited the heavier meats to such as came from cud-chewing, hoof-splitting beasts, so that in the "grosse provision" as it was called, pig, pork, bacon, and the peculiarly English brawn[16] stood cheek by jowl with the more

[14] Mussett, *op. cit., Archaeologia*, XIII.

[15] Mussett, *op. cit., Archaeologia*, XIII.

[16] Harrison, in his *Description of England*, explains what brawn was in the following pleasant narrative:

"Of our tame bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as I take it) otherwise would not the swart Rutters and French cookes, at the losse of Calis (where they found great store of this prouision in almost euerie house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to rost, bake, broile, & frie the same for their masters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hogshead of brawne readie sowsed to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, reserued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he so well liked of the prouision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie

dignified beef, veal, mutton, lamb, hind, roe, doe, goat, and kid which laded the tables in abundance. Rabbit or cony, and hare, constantly eaten, were, of course, noted.

The staple grains were wheat, rye and oats. Classed with these is the all-important malt. This conspicuous mention of the manufactured product perhaps accounts for the neglect of its progenitor. Old barley-corn, no puny in these, the hey-days of the beer barrel, is not named.

"Spice," as then understood, was a blanket term, which with its generous inclusiveness, would appal even a German housewife of today, at the same time relegating her tin can categories to a dusty back shelf. Thus the "necessary spice for the kitchen" comprised the following: sugar, nutmegs, pepper,

earnestlie with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue been flesh, he would not haue touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A freend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, hauing certaine Iewes at his table, did set brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, hied them home in hast, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oile, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clensed their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of seruice at the table, from Nouember vntill Februarie be ended; but cheeflie in the Christmasse time. With the same we also begin our dinners ech daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of maluesie, bastard, or muscalell, is vsuallie droonke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: . . . It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yere or two, especiallie in gentlemen's houses . . . in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneasie coat (pen) till his fat he hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, . . . The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne . . . ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, ozier peeles, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a brused rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being doone, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to coole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they powre either good small ale or beere mingled with veriuice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and changing the sowsing drinke lest it should wax sowre) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie." — Harrison, *op. cit.*, Holinshed, I, 373-374.

prunes, dates, cinnamon, saffron,[17] raisins, isinglass,[18] ginger, mace, "saunders,"[19] currants and "turnsaile."[20] Salt and hops are classed separately along with starch and soap.

In addition to beer and ale, claret, white, Rhenish, sack and muscadel wines offered quite a variety in beverages. The variety was really far greater here than it would at first appear, too, since Harrison asserts that "Claret, White, Red, French, (wines) . . . amount to about fifty-six sorts, according to the number of regions whence they come." In addition to these which were certainly the commonest wines in use, Harrison also mentions "thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, etc.," drunk by the English, and specifically notes of these "Veruage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie, and Malmeseie," as "not least of all accompted of, bicause of their strength and valure."[21]

Thus far we have a generous, but one-sided larder. It is rounded out, however, by green truck items, and fruits of current value, jotted down together with such an odd assortment of delectables running the veriest gormand's gamut, that as one contemplates the list, he is utterly at a loss to determine the probable norm in the mind of the unknown compiler. The tabulation as it stands were fit stock for a yet more juicy "Dissertation" by the hand of our gentlest humorist! Its sober, matter-of-course label alone tells quite a story — "A generall table of necessarie provisions for the whole yeare."

Most of the vegetables then used, like radishes, cauliflower, potatoes, cabbage, cucumbers, lettuce, carrots, spinach, and artichokes, are found in all well ordered gardens of today. Beans and peas, though commonly known, were not noted. The "skerett," however, which Harrison also writes about, a carrot-like root, is no longer cultivated in England,[22] while "navews," a variety of turnip, are at present raised for sheep feed and

[17] The Crocus Sativus, much used in cookery and as medicine.

[18] Gelatine, called isinglass from its mica-like appearance.

[19] "This fragrant wood, brought from the East Indies, was principally used for colouring the confections red. . ." Bishop Percy's note in *Northumberland Household Book*, 415.

[20] Another herb, used for coloring confections and jellies.

[21] Harrison, *Description of England*, Holinshed, 1, 281.

[22] *Ibid.*, Camelot Series, 25, note by R. C. A. Prior.

Colza oil.[23] Purslane, the Portulaca Domestica, according to Gerrard's *Herbal* (p. 521, ed. 1633), was then esteemed, as well for its medicinal properties, as for its edible virtues. Either raw or boiled it was made into a salad. Cress was also, as it is still, used in the same way.

The fruits named were few. Pears, distinguished from wardens, a large baking variety, apples, oranges, lemons and melons being listed. Many more were known. Harrison speaks of peaches and apricots, while with a firm conviction in the fitness of God's handiwork, he tells about the annual fruits, strange herbs, and plants "... dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they doo not grow for vs, bicause that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous sauours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, bicause they are his good gifts, and created to doo man helpe and seruice."[24]

In addition to the vegetables, fruits, and the products of the dairy along with eggs, many highly flavored articles of food were eaten. Vinegar and verjuice, a tart liquor used like vinegar, made from crushed crab apples; eringoes, the candied root of another plant found on the sea shore; olives, citron, caviar, anchovies, capers and barberries being the most important. With these also, samphire is mentioned, a plant whose young leaves were pickled. Gerard describes several varieties of this samphire, one of which grew in the rocky cliffs at Dover and in other like places along the sea shore. Shakespeare had probably watched the daring purveyors of this delicacy at work, and the experience enabled him to picture vividly that sad scene in Lear where Edgar is leading his blinded father Gloster, as the latter supposes, to the brink of those very Dover cliffs that he may throw himself off. The young man carrying out his feint, says to his father:

> Come on, sir; here's the place: — stand still. — How fearful
> And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eye so low!

[23] Harrison, *Description of England*, Camelot Edition, 26, note by R. C. A. Prior.

[24] Harrison, *op. cit.*, Holinshed, 1, 351.

> The crows and Coughs that wing the midway air
> Show scarce so gross as beetles: half way down
> Hangs one that gathers samphire, — dreadful trade!
> Methinks he seems no bigger than his head:

Herbs were set down simply as herbs. It is well they were, for Harrison informs us that in his time some three or four hundred were in use; in fact he says that he himself had seen that many in a single garden, perhaps a half of which number had been known not a generation, while so lively was the interest in these annuals because of their medicinal value, this great list was growing steadily.[25]

Finally various meat products were relished. Sausages, "andulees," which are baldly described by a contemporary as puddings made of hog's guts filled with spice, one gut drawn after another,[26] calf's mugget, like the former, except that it was the veal's entrails made into a pie, neat's tongue in three states — "green," dried, and soused, the heads and plucks of calves, lambs, and kids, and soused tripe — these are capital examples.

From such a rich store what dainty menus must have been fashioned under the expert supervision of groups of those "musical headed" French cooks Harrison tells about! It is to be observed, however, that while this food was in general characteristic of the stock provision widely consumed by the nobility, this list was constructed, as we have remarked before, in the early 17th century. The 5th Earl of Northumberland, living nearly one hundred years before that time, could not, therefore, have had potatoes on his bill of fare, whereas the 9th Earl of the same house may well have relished that later staple tuber — so wide awake were the purveyors.

Further, the French fads in cookery so rife in Harrison's day, seemed, at a later date, to Braithwait's Puritanic sense the degenerate mark of a wanton departure from the hardy simplicity of the sturdy English in an earlier and less sophisticated age. His querulous diatribe, if long, is instructive. "In ancient time," says he, vaguely enough, "noble men contented themselves to be served with such as had bene bred in ther owne houses; but of later times, none could please some, except Italians and Frenchmen, or, at the least, brought up in the court, or vnder

[25] Harrison, *op. cit.*, Holinshed, I, 351.

[26] *Archaeologia*, XIII, 388.

London cookes: nor would the old manner of baking, boyling, or roasting please them, but the boyled meates must be after the French fashion, the dishes garnished about with sugar, and preserved plummes, the meates covered over with Orangade, preserved Lemons, and with divers other preserved and conserved stuffe fetched from the Confectionaries; more honie and sugar spent in boyling fish to serve at one meale, than might well serve the whole expence for the house in a day. The baked meates must be set out with armes and crestes, flourished and gilded, more fitt for monuments in churches, wher they might have continuance, than to be set vpon tables wher they are little sooner seene then consumed. The roast meates, without their sundry kindes of new devised sawces little esteemed of, they must have most kindes, not onely of flesh, but also of fish colde and sowced; all of theese being more delightful to the sight and pleasing to the tast, then needefull or holesome to the stomacke and body. And I doe truly affirme, that I have seene all the kinds of meates here set downe served most abundantly, and yet some of the guestes could not be satisfied therwith, but ther must presently be provided for them Sowes cheekes, Salt tongues, pickled and redd hearings, Spratts, Anchoves, Bolonia Sausages, Potato rootes, and sundry other such kinde of meates; all to provoke them to drinke store of strong wines, thereby to procure lust, and decay naturall strength. . ." [27]

The cantankerous Stubbes, too, set out to fall athwart English shortcomings in general, naturally digresses on this gluttony — "Godly hospitalitie," says he, "is a thing in no wise worthy of reprehension, but rather of great commendation; for many haue receiued Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by vsing the same, as Abraham, Lot, Tobias, & many others. Yet if hospitality flow ouer into superfluitie and riotous excesse, it is not tolerable: for now adaies, if the table be not couered from one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another, with delicat meats of sundry sorts, one cleane different from an other, and to euery dish a seuerall sawce appropriat to his kinde, it is thought there unworthye the name of a dinner. Yea, so many dishes shal you haue pesteruing the table at once, as the insciablest Helluo, the deurouringest glutton, or the greediest cormorant that is, can scarce eat of euery one a litle. And these

[27] Brathwait, *Household of an Earle*, 31-32.

many shall you haue at the first course; as many at the second; and, peraduenture, moe at the third; besydes other sweet condyments, and delicat confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these dainties, all kind of wynes are not wanting you may be sure." [28]

With this we conclude, and if we have had vainly to long for an hour's use of the magic pen of Dickens or Gissing, at least we have had the pale satisfaction of noting a short vision of our own philosopher-poet. When Thoreau declared that many a man should rather have described for us his dinner who imposes on us with a history of the Grand Khan, he surely saw not beyond the tiny confines of one of his own bean skins — or was this ascetic sarcasm a joke!

[28] *Anatomy of Abuses*, New Shakespeare Society, Part I, 102-103.

CHAPTER IV

SUPPLY PURVEYANCE IN THE HANDS OF NOBLEMEN

Thus having attained a regall Dignity to commaunde all, which continued as aforesaid, where no other Captains authority endured but one year: he ever kept himself upright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could warily looke to his own. As for his Lands and Goods left him by his Parents, that they miscarried not by negligence, nor that they should trouble him much, in busying himself to reduce them to a value; he did so husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest way. For he sold in gross ever the whole years profit and commodity of his lands, and afterward sent to the market dayly to buy the eates, and other ordinary provision of houshould. This dyd not like his Sones that were men grown, neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberal in his house; for they complained of his overhard and straight ordinary, because in so noble and great an house as his, there was never any great remain left of meat, but all things received into the house, ran under account, and were delivered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his was kept upright in this good order, by one Evangelus, Steward of his house, a man very honest and skilfull in all his household provision; and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not known.[1]

— Plutarch's *Pericles* (North's Translation).

During the week of 1587 ending July 10th, the great household of Henry, Earl of Derby, consumed the following food: two hundred and forty bushels of wheat, twenty-one hogsheads of beer, two oxen, fourteen veal calves, seventeen sheep, seven lambs, three ling and twenty haberdine. Fresh fish cost 18s, while £8: 4s: 8d was spent for special food including butter and cheese.[2]

Selected at random, this provision was in amount somewhat above the average weekly expenditure of food, which from July

1 I have prefaced this chapter with the quotation from North's famous translation of Plutarch because it is in the perfect spirit and phrase of contemporary household accounts.

2 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 30.

to December of 1586 approximated one hundred and twelve bushels of wheat, eight and three-quarter hogsheads of beer, three-quarters of an ox or cow, nine muttons, and so on proportionally, per week.[3] Such were the characteristic quantities of bulk food-stuffs commonly used by a typical noble household.[4]

An expenditure similar to this guaranteed the cheerful hospitality always freely extended by the nobility to guests, were such visitors friends or strangers. The entertainment of a notable individual, however, or preëminently of the sovereign, entailed a prodigal outlay of food. In 1577 the Right Honorable Lord North entertained his Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, at Kirtling. Her Majesty arrived on Monday, September the 1st, in time for supper, and remained until after dinner on Wednesday of the same week. Judging by the good cheer dispensed, it was fortunate for the generous peer that his mighty visitor did not remain longer beneath his roof, or a miracle alone must have preserved him from famine. During those memorable two days twelve hundred cast of manchets and thirty-six hundred cast of cheat-bread, made at Kirtling, together with twenty-three dozen loaves of white and cheat-bread bought up,[5] were eaten, while it required seventy-four hogsheads of beer, two tuns of ale, six hogsheads of claret wine, one of white wine, one rundlet or twenty gallons of sack and six gallons of Hippocras to slaken the thirst of Royalty. Twelve steers and oxen, sixty-seven sheep, seven lambs, eighteen veal calves and thirty-four pigs were slaughtered, while the meat of four stags and sixteen bucks, baked up into two hundred and seventy-six pasties, which further required three pounds worth of wheat and rye flour — eight gammons of bacon, and two hundred and twenty neat's tongues, feet and udders, supplied the more delicate flesh fare.

For these festivities feathered creation suffered an appalling depletion: thirty-two geese, three hundred and sixty-three capons, ninety-nine and one-half dozen chickens, two hundred and seventeen dozen pigeons, twenty-seven dozen quail, six turkeys, thirty-two swans, two hundred and seventy-three mallards and

[3] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 13-18.

[4] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 101-105, *e.g.*

[5] Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic Words*, "Caste piece" — several pieces (or loaves) joined into one.

young ducks, one crane, twenty-eight heronsews, one hundred and ten bittern, twelve shovelers, one hundred and six pewits, sixty-eight godwits, eighteen gulls, ninety-nine dotterels, eight snipe, twenty-one knots, thirty-eight plover, five stints, eighteen redshanks, two tern, twenty-two partridge, one pheasant, and two curlews were eaten. What a screaming, quacking uproar were possible from such a contingent of terrified fowls! Some one put up with it too, for part of this winged biped menagerie arrived alive at Kirtling, and his lordship paid full 20s for "keping off wylde foule."

A goodly store of sea-food gave variety and zest to the menus. Three kegs of sturgeon, eight dozen cray-fish, one cart load and two horse loads of oysters, a barrel of anchovies, two pike, two carp, four tench, twelve perch, and three hundred red herrings were made away with.

In addition to all this, four hundred and thirty pounds of butter, thirteen pounds of lard, two thousand five hundred and twenty-two eggs, one hogshead of vinegar, six Holland cheeses and ten marchpanes were dispensed, while thirty-nine pounds, twenty-one pence was spent to furnish sufficient "Grocerie ware, banketting stuff, salletts, rootes, and hearbes."[9]

Where did all this fare, as well for ordinary use as for great feasts, come from? Purveyance and care of food was a vital part of the routine business connected with the proper running of a household. The whole question of supplies was that management problem which, more than any other, occupied the time and thought of the noble master himself, and was responsible for the existence of many of his servants.

Provision, largely according to the nature of the food and the manner in which it was bought up, consisted of what was called the "gross emptions" or the "food of store," and the "fresh acates"; or simply "cates" — supplies, usually perishable, purchased for immediate use daily, or weekly, by a special servant, called from his duties the achator or cator.

Naturally the staple portions of the daily rations were supplied from the store food. This was garnered up as occasion of-

[9] Extracts from Lord North's Household Book, *Archaeologia*, XIX, 287 *et seq.*

fered, in bulk, the estimated quantities of the various sorts required by a household being nicely determined for the season or for the entire year in advance. Thus at Michaelmas in 1512, the officials charged with the year's management of the 5th Earl of Northumberland's house were ordered to lay up these stores to last until the following Michaelmas: sixteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-two bushels of wheat, one thousand six hundred and seventy-six bushels of malt — and as the earl's brewer made twelve hogsheads of beer from six quarters of malt, if this liquor seed were all expended in the manufacture of that beverage, twenty-seven thousand five hundred and ninety-four gallons, in round numbers, were the year's beer prospect — an average of five hundred and fifty-two quarts during the twelvemonth, for each man, woman and child in the household, many of whom must have gone exceeding dry on less than one and one-half quarts apiece per diem.

In addition to the beer provision, however, ten tuns and six hogsheads (1646 gallons) represented the year's store of Gascon wine, which, more particularly specified, included three tuns of red, five of claret, and two tuns two hogsheads of white wine.

One hundred and twenty-four beeves, six hundred and sixty-seven muttons, twenty-five hogs, twenty-eight calves and sixty lambs were to be provided for slaughter; while the supply of cured fish consisted of one hundred and forty-four stock fish, nine hundred and forty-two salt fish, ten cades [10] of red, and nine barrels of white herring, five cades of sprats, two thousand eighty salt salmon, three ferkins of salt sturgeon and five kegs of salt eels.

One and one-half barrels of oil for frying fish, together with the same amount of honey, much of which was used for fish dressing, was deemed sufficient. "All manner of Spices" meant for that year, fifty pounds of pepper, one thousand forty score pounds of currants or "raisins of Corinth," as they were called, one hundred thirty-one and a half pounds of prunes, twenty and one-half pounds of ginger, six pounds of mace, three and one-half pounds of cloves, one hundred and four score pounds of sugar, seventeen pounds of cinnamon, one hundred and thirty-two pounds of almonds, thirty pounds of dates, seven pounds of

[10] A cade is a barrel of 500 herrings, or 1,000 sprats.

"granes," [11] ten and one-half pounds of turnsole, ten pounds of sanders, three pounds of anise powder, nineteen pounds of rice, nineteen and one-half pounds of comfits,[12] a quarter of a pound of Gallinga,[13] two pounds of blanch powder, three pounds of saffron, and finally, with all this "spice" though not of it, might be placed the four coppets [14] each of figs and great raisins purchased. One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard were to be manufactured in the scullery, provision also being made for ninety gallons of verjuice, and forty gallons of vinegar. The latter, if possible, was to be evolved from the wine lags or lees. It was thought that six and one-half quarters of white and ten of bay salt would suffice for a year.

It was widely customary among the nobles to estimate along with the food supplies for a twelvemonth, the year's stock of fuel, illuminating materials, necessary linen cloth, dishes, and various other commodities. Thus in 1512, twenty chawder [15] of sea-coal and twenty quarters of charcoal were ordered for Northumberland. The latter fuel was for burning at Christmas time, when the arras was all hung, for as the smoke of the sea-coal ruined the hangings, its use had to be quit — a good commentary on the heating arrangements of the day! Fagots were used in baking and brewing, three thousand four hundred and sixty bundles being required for such operations during the year; while we are quaintly informed that sixty-four loads of great wood was necessary, "bicause colys will not byrne withowte wodd," which precept sounds as though it were founded on ex-

11 "'Granes' are probably what are now called 'Granes of Paradise,' small pungent seeds brought from the East Indies, much resembling Cardamum seeds in appearance, but in properties approaching nearer to Pepper." — Bishop Percy's note in *Northumberland Household Book*, 414-415. The Bishop quotes Lewis's *Materia Medica*, p. 298.

12 A comfit, according to Johnson, is "A dry sweetmeat; any kind of fruit or root preserved with sugar and dried."

13 "'Gallinga,' Lat. Galanga, is the root of a grassy-leaved plant brought from the East Indies, of an aromatic smell, and hot biting bitterish Taste, anciently used among other Spices. . ." — *Northumberland Household Book*, 415.

14 Coppet: perhaps for "topnett," diminutive for "tope," a tub or cask? *Vide Howard Household Books*, Surtees Soc., 45, note.

15 "Chawder" — caldron, a coal measure of four quarters or thirty-two bushels.

asperating experience! Furthermore it was "ordained" that thirty sacks of charcoal be especially provided for distilling various waters for the earl. As each sack held four bushels of coals, this was a large quantity of fuel to be thus expended. Its consumption, however, made possible a lusty pharmacopœia to delight any Galenite, but which compels us to write down the earl a veritable English "Argan"! ". . . the Namys of the said Waters that his Lordeshipe is accustomyd to caus to be stillid yerly Hereaftur Followith Viz: Water of Roses — Water for the Stone — Water of 'Buradge' — Water of Feminytory (Fumitory) — Water of Braks (ferns) — Water of Colymbyns (Columbine) — Water of Okynleefe (Oak Leaf) — Water of Harts Tonge — Water of Draggons — Water of Parcelly (Parsley) — Water of Balme — Water of Walnot Leeffs (leaves) — Water of Lang do beeff (Lang Du Boeuf) — Water of Prymeroses (Primroses) — Water of Saige (Sage) — Water of Sorrel — Water of Red mynt (Mint) — Water of Betany (Betonica) — Water of Cowslops — Water of Tandelyon — Water of Fennell — Water of Scabios (Scabious) — Water of Elder Flours — Water of Marygolds — Water of Wilde Tansey — Water of Wormwode — Water of Woodbind — Water of Endyff (Endive) and Water of Hawsse (Haws). And to be allowed for filling of every Bottell of Water of a Pottell a pece on with another j Bushell of chercoill After iiij Bushell in the Sek And after ij Suaks to a Quarter And after j Quarter for stilling of every viij Bottells with Water." [16]

Light was highly esteemed by the earl if we can judge from the illuminating power lying hid in the four thousand eighty-seven and one-half pounds of wax, requiring fifty-one pounds of wick for its manufacture into sizes,[17] prickets,[18] quarions,[19] and torches, and the ninety-one dozen and two pounds of Paris candles which were to be made from tallow provided by the house. The torches had rosin also in their composition, twenty-nine pounds of which was ordered.

That year it was decided that seventy ells of linen cloth one

[16] *Northumberland Household Book*, 384-385.

[17, 18, 19] All candles. A "pricket" was a candle stand from which the name went to the sort of light used with it. A "quarion" was a square lump of wax with a wick in the middle, later known at a "mortice." — *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 219.

yard wide would suffice for all the uses to which such material was put. From this amount were to be fashioned eight board cloths for the Hall, one for the Knight's board in the Great Chamber, a ewery cloth and two towels for the ewery for the earl to wash with at meal times, four towels for Carvers and Sewers, eighteen napkins one yard long and half a yard broad, two bearing towels for the pantry, eight pantry towels for liveries, a port-pane, also for the pantry, and two dresser cloths for the kitchen.

The estimate for dishes included an order for hiring what was called "rough vessel," whereby forty shillings was set aside for renting one hundred dozen of such utensils, at the rate of four pence a dozen. Three special occasions necessitated this recruitment of the home stock: Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday, at which seasons the house did elaborate entertaining. In addition, however, two new brass pots were to be purchased outright, as were two garnishes [20] of counterfeit vessel, the order for the latter being placed at six shillings eight pence the dozen. Stone cruses must have been more fragile than the material would imply since twenty dozen were to be supplied in two lots, the first to serve from Michaelmas to Easter, and the second from then on to Michaelmas again. These were at the moderate cost of ten shillings for the lot. So much for the major part of the year's supplies of the 5th Earl of Northumberland.[21]

There is a striking similarity between this provision and the bulk stock upon which the Earl of Rutland relied one full century later. Of meat — seventy beeves, four hundred muttons, forty lambs and thirty hogs, slaughtered for bacon, pork and brawn, together with one thousand two hundred couple of rabbits served to keep Belvoir from vegetarian's diet for a twelvemonth.

The store fish supply for the same period included four hundred new ling, six hundred haberdine, three barrels of white herring, three cades of red herring, three kegs of salt eel, six salt salmon, and two kegs of sturgeon. The numerical contents of the kegged stuff presents an old-fashioned arithmetical prob-

[20] Harrison describes a "garnish" as consisting of twelve platters, twelve dishes, and twelve saucers. — *Description of England*, Holinshed, 1, 399.

[21] *Northumberland Household Book*, 3-27.

lem of no little interest. Each of the barrels "ought to conteyn xc (1100) white herrings vi^{xx} (120) to the c (100)"! The fresh fish most commonly eaten were pikes, carp, tench and bream, but as the earl's ponds yielded his supply, the numbers used were not given, though they were surely known.

Claret was the largest wine item of the liquid store, there being laid up each year four and one-half tuns of that liquor. The earl had his bill of impost which permitted him to secure eight tuns a year at forty shillings a tun; this cost was further increased however, by the payment of twenty shillings to the Lord Treasurer's man (his clerk?) for the gift of the bill, while the farmer of the tax received two shillings, and his clerk twelve pence on each tun. In addition to this claret, two butts (108-126 gal.) and one randlet (c. 15 gal.) each of Muscadien and Rhenish wine were bought.

Three hogsheads of vinegar and four of verjuice was the annual quota of wet spice, while the usual two kinds of salt, one quarter of the bay, and five quarters of the white was the year's measure.

One hundred and twenty quarters of wheat, four quarters of rye, one thousand quarters of oats, forty quarters of pease, and thirty-five quarters of barley — such was the cereal order; the largest part of both the oats and pease to be used, probably, for horse feed. Four hundred pounds of hops would make three hundred forty-two and three-tenths hogsheads of beer under the brewer's rule at Belvoir, provided it were all used for beer, but this quantity of blossoms with the one hundred and sixty quarters of malt laid up, sufficed also for the ale and march-beer brew.

The earl had his large spice order consisting of eight sugar loaves, one hundred and sixty pounds of powdered sugar, seventy pounds of "raysons soll," or raisins of the sun, one hundred pounds of Alicant raisins, seventy pounds of currants, fifty pounds of prunes, eight pounds of dates, four pounds each of cloves, nutmegs and mace, six pounds of ginger, sixty pounds of pepper, twenty pounds of rice, ten pounds each of blue figs and almonds, forty pounds of barreled figs, four and one-half gallons of olives, four pounds of capers, four barrels of samphire, four barrels of gerkins, four gallons of oil, and finally, sixteen bushels of mustard seed, which were annually ground up for this favorite spice.

The fuel required each year at Belvoir was pit and charcoal, two hundred loads of the first and twenty loads of the latter. Three cords of wood were consumed in the manufacture of one load of the charcoal. It was burned in enormous pits which would hold from fifteen to thirty cords of wood at a time. The finished product fetched twelve shillings a load at the "forge," while the cost of making, including felling of the trees, cording the wood and coaling the pit, was six shillings a load; in addition, two shillings six pence was charged to put up a load for hauling. The loads of pit coal were not large; as the earl stated his order — "xiij corke fulles is a rooke, and nine corkfulles is three quarters and an ordinary loade, . . . A rooke of colles ought to bee ij yeardes high and a yeard and quarter square by measure." If this measure were adhered to in bringing home the coal, each load would contain about one and one-fifth cubic yards of coal, or if they loaded, as they probably did, one and three-quarters loads to a single drawing, they then would each time cart about two and one-sixth cubic yards of coal. One and three-quarters loads of this fuel cost two shillings eight pence at the pits. With the fuel which served in part for light, the earl needed one thousand dozen tallow candles, and three dozen torches for illumination in the course of a year.

In addition to these food supplies, the Earl of Rutland, like the 5th Earl of Northumberland, bought up various other provisions. Thus seven firkins of soap, sixty pounds to the firkin, were bought annually. This amount could not have gone very far, especially if it were used for both toilet and laundry purposes. Seventy-four pounds of starch — a high fallutin sophistication unknown in the 5th earl's day — would cook up into a goodly quantity of "devil's liquor," but that much was used in getting up the household ruffs and wrist-bands. Finally the earl had his figure for iron, steel, drinking glasses, window glass, lead, brass and copper, slate, mats for the chambers, pitch and tar, shovels, corn sacks, brooms, ash trees (probably young saplings for hop vines), well-rope,[22] and so on, and while Northum-

[22] Household books of the Earls of Rutland, *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 480-486. *Vide* Ordinances for the Household of George Duke of Clarence, in *Royal Household Ordinances*, 101 *et seq.*, for similar provision thus brought up.

berland did not list like purchases, the only item, outside of the starch, which he probably could not have had was the glass.

It was possible to do this extended ordering thus in advance, at a great saving of time and money, by means of an elaborate book-keeping, which recorded accurately all the provision brought in and used, as well as the amounts of all supplies left at the end of each day, week, and year. By studying several of these accounts, and drawing an average, it was relatively as easy to estimate with a margin just what quantities of store material must be ordered, as it is for a good housewife of the present time to tell how much fruit she must preserve, or how many bushels of potatoes to secure for the winter.

It was earlier noted that various people in a household were responsible as well for the purveyance of this stock, as for properly looking after it when it was got home. Especially important, however, was the commissarial rôle zealously played by the noble master of an establishment.

The 5th Earl of Northumberland himself, acting with his domestic council, decided upon all the yearly provision to be laid up in 1512 for his establishment, as well as what his cator "parcels" should be. He approximated the prices of all the supplies, stated when, and in what amounts the money to be thus expended should be transferred to the officials "standing charged" with his house, and from which of his various estates such sums were to be due. He likewise indicated where much of the provision was, or was not, to be procured.

The following provision for weekly observance in his household was ordained: "ITEM that the saide Clarkes of the Kechynge shall affore they maik any Barganne for Provision of any maner of gross Empcion for kepinge of my Loordes Hous that they maik my Loorde privey theretoo affore the Barganne be concluded to th' entent that they may knowe whether his Loordship will agre to the said prices or not if my saide Loorde be at home ande if his Loordeship be absennt thanne to maik suche of his Lordeship Counsaill or Servaunts that my said Loorde leefs in trust too see which he haithe apointed prevey to the said Empcion affore the Barganne be concluded to th' ententt that they may see whether they have maide there Bargans in dewfull tyme or nott." [23]

[23] *Northumberland Household Book*, 116.

Laboring carefully with his assistants for some time before Michaelmas of 1512 — the date which began the household year, together they fashioned the specific lists already presented in detail, prefacing the systematic results of their efforts with a courtly praelusio stately enough to herald the birth of a prince:

"THIS IS THE ASSIGNMENTE made by me and my Counsaill at Wresill to Richard Gowge Countroller of my house and Thomas Percy Clark of the Kechyng of my said house stondynge chared with my said house Which ys for the hole expensys and kepynge of my said house for one hole Yere begynnynge on Monday the xxxth day of September which was Michaelmas day last past in the thyrd Yere of my Soveraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the viijth and endynge at Michaelmas next cumynge which shal be by the grace of God in the iiijth yere of my said Soveraigne Lorde as the names of the Parcells that they shall have payd by th' hands of my Cofferers for the tyme beynge With the names of the Sommes that they shall pay hereafter folowyth in the Booke." [24]

Only to supervise the securing of supplies was not sufficient, however. The thrifty expenditure of his store also engaged the earl's earnest attention. He and his council determined for the entire year, and carefully stated, the breakfast, dinner, and supper menus for all eating in the house; this included the special provision which religious observance demanded for Lent with its weekly "scambling days," [25] in addition to Rogation-day fare, the extra dishes for principal feasts, and the livery allowances as well of food as of lights and fuel. In fact, in regard to the latter item, the earl was particularly solicitous, especially when he could not personally direct the spending of his store.

From Hallowmas (November 1st) until Shrovetide (the period between Quinquagessima Sunday — the last Sunday in Lent, and Ash Wednesday) the household did not reside either at the Manor of Leckinfield or at the New Lodge in the park there. Certain servants were left in charge of those residences, however, and to control the heating supplies thought necessary for this three month interim, a descriptive bill was drawn up under

[24] *Ibid.*, 1-38.

[25] "Scambling Days were Days when no regular Meals were provided, but everyone scrambled and shifted for himself. . ." — Bishop Percy's note in *Northumberland Household Book*, 416-417.

Northumberland's direction, and signed by him, which for redundant intricacy could be excelled only by a verbose Royal Proclamation. The title alone is a teeming five-wheeled masterpiece:

"THYS YS THE BILL OF THE NAMYS of the HOUSES at my Lordes Mannour of LECKINFELDE at his Lordships NEW LOGE in his PARKE ther And what CHAMBERS they be which shall have FIERS kept in theym yerly And how myche FEWILL shal be allowid to every Hous by the DAYE Weke and Monneth As well Billett Wodde as Fagot And what Dais in the Weke they shal have Fiers made in them at all such tymes in Winter that my Lorde lies not ther Yerly from All-Hallowtide to Shraftide As the Namys of the said Houses And what Houses they bee And what every of them shal be allowide by the Day Weke and Monthe And what Dais they shall have Fiers kept in theym HEREAFTER FOLLOWITH in this Bill Signed with my Lordes Hande."

This was making a Star-Chamber matter of it with a vengeance! As the caption purports, the bill sets forth room by room those chambers in both mansions which shall have fires — the Leckinfield list includes this interesting group of apartments: The jewel house, my lord's library, my lady's library, my lord's library over the Chapel door, the evidence house over the Chapel stair, the upper and nether houses, i.e. stories, of the tower in the garden, the inner chamber in the upper house of the same, the wardrobe, armory and vestry — within these eleven chambers out of more than four score, cheerful Loki was granted a measured tether. Seven rooms in the New Lodge were likewise to be graced by his warm presence.

The straight laced document, further, in accordance with the promise of its title, narrates also room by room, the days of the week — Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, on which supplies of wood were to be furnished to each of these several chambers; the precise quantity for each in shides and fagots with the price of both — the amounts of fuel and the costs being estimated for the week, month, and three months! [26]

[26] *Northumberland Household Book*, 377. It is but fair to relate that this detail is characteristic of this whole household book and also of many others.

Finally, it would seem under the law of inertia, the bill concluded with a reiterative summary, stating first all the fuel in shides and fagots to be consumed, then the whole quantity of either sort allowed for the Manor and Lodge respectively together with the total cost — three shillings, which is a comical reductio ad absurdum, a tiny mouse brought forth with majestic reverberating travail by this mountainous book-keeping![27]

The finickin exactitude of these regulations safeguarded expenditures of the fuel which probably were entrusted to servants alone; Northumberland, however, had his wood and coal stores carefully estimated for the summer and winter use of the household proper.

What was called the "whole livery" of fuel — that is, the regulation daily delivery for winter consumption, began to be issued at Allhallows, and ran, full tilt, to Lady-Day in Lent;[28] from this latter date, until Allhallows again, the summer, or "half liveries" were issued. During the winter the entire establishment received its quota of coals, or wood and coal both, worked out with the usual great care. To "My Lordes great Chambre where he dyeneth" went daily, one shide of wood and one bushel two pecks of coals, the allowance for "My Ladys Chamber where she lyeth" and for his Grace's room "where he maketh hym redy" being somewhat more generous — two shides, one bushel and three pecks, each.

The nursery was heated only "if my Lordes childer be byneth," in which pleasant exigency two pecks of coals was its supply. One peck of coals had to suffice each of the great officers of the household, except the Chamberlain, who was allowed a shide and two pecks. So on, with the rest of the household, down to the kitchen, bake and brew houses, whither generous supplies of fuel were carted, at least on busy days; thus in the brew house, at every brewing, four score and sixteen fagots were consumed. How delightful those glowing precincts on a bleak wintry day — where savory food or well-bodied drink were toward! But against the yearning temptation for servants to loiter near such genial comfort, stood the stringent rules of the establishment, and the steadfast training of the officers.

[27] *Northumberland Household Book*, 377-385.
[28] *Ibid.*, 99-101.

The half, or "summer liveries" of fuel, were issued only to the chambers of the earl and his lady, to my Lord Percy's room, the nursery, and his Grace's library. What a vigorous establishment this, to have flourished under so skimpy a fuel provision, housed, as it was, in a stone castle, moat engirt, in the northernmost county of England, defying the winter's rages until Allhallows, and heralded to spring, whether or no, on the 25th of March! And then Harrison with that age-old perversity, bewails those ancient days, when stalwart Englishmen dwelt not in the snug comfort of oaken-ribbed houses!

It was likewise to guard against extravagance that the earl's keen eye searchingly scanned the mistakes made by the management in the conduct of this entire department during the year just ended. Whether the error lay in the purveyance of the supplies, or was due to the ignorance or neglect of a servant charged with handling the stock, Northumberland noted it and tersely declared its remedy.

Apparently the bakers and brewers had been careless; at any rate, some bread and beer had been bought up outside; henceforth the home product must suffice. Furthermore when trencher bread was baked, the flour for it was to be used as it came from the mill — that is, unbolted.

What appears to have been some underhand work on the part of a purveyor was detected in connection with the fish supplies; no longer, when salt-fish was high priced, was stock fish to be bought because it was cheaper — the implication being that provision had been made for the salt-fish. Neither, in the future, were red and white herring and sprats to be purchased for serving either at breakfasts or on scrambling days in Lent or for regular use during other seasons, to thereby avoid supplying enough sea and fresh water fish.

During 1511 the whole household had been indiscriminately living on the fat of the land, but from then on no lambs were to be bought when they were dear, except for Northumberland's board, and the fare of his Steward and Chamberlain, while it was briefly enjoined "that their be no common service of theym thrugh the hous."

Thrift forbade what had been a wanton wasting of white salt during the past year. This commodity was henceforth to be

used only in the pantry and "for seasonynge of meate or for castyng upon meit." Stringent ordinance declared that the "broken wine" in my lord's house be converted into vinegar, the clerks of the establishment providing the lags for that purpose, these same having first been duly marked by those servants "after thei be past drawyng that thei can be set no more of broche."

It was probably the heavy breakage of the earthen pots in which livery food was served, which instituted the commission to provide leather pots for them, i.e. in which to set them; while a promiscuous freedom in renting pewter dishes led to a re-naming of those four festivals on which alone the house hired extra ware. A similar mismanagement called forth a rehearsal of the established rule in regard to the purchase of counterfeit vessels, with its careful injunction to keep the same in the counting house during the wide intervals between their quadriannual festival service.[29]

Other orders by the earl to assure the economical consumption of all the provisions will be later noted. It is sufficient here to observe that no rule which a wise frugality could suggest was left unframed. The baker must answer his six hundred and forty manchets, two in a loaf out of every quarter of wheat delivered to him, a like mathematical exactitude measuring the household and trencher bread. The brewer had also his steadfast gauge, while the butcher learned to a whack how many "stroks shal be strikkyn" out of every beast transformed by his cleaver art from a lively creature into a carcass,[30] a similar chart being likewise furnished to that individual whoever he may have been who cut up the cured fish.[31]

While making no pretense at completeness, these details well reflect the character of that control from headquarters which a great nobleman, like the 5th Earl of Northumberland, exercised over his supplies. This was a duty punctiliously performed by many if not all of the nobility. In February of 1586, Edward Earl of Derby signed Household Regulations several of which touch this department directly.[32] On May 12, 1587, his successor,

[29] *Northumberland Household Book*, 55-58.
[30] *Northumberland Household Book*, 134-135.
[31] *Ibid.*, 135.
[32] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 8-10.

the Earl Henry, formally kept or amended these to suit his needs.[33] George, Duke of Clarence, Lord John Howard of Stoke, all of the nobles, in fact, whose household accounts have been preserved, demanded an efficiency in this respect only to have been attained through similar regulations though such rules were not always so carefully formulated.

In securing and looking after their supplies, however, these noble householders by no means confined themselves to the circumscribed bounds of the pilot, effective and necessary as was direction from that vantage. In fact the many busy hours devoted by Lord John Howard of Stoke to the personal transaction of much of his entire provision business, stand immutable witnesses to the painstaking industry of certain of these old Tudor aristocrats. Each was on his own behalf a zealous worker, shirking no task of this sort, however trivial, nay, mean, it may have been.

Among the numerous provision works to which Lord Howard at times devoted his personal attention was his fish supply. It has already been pointed out that fish of all sorts was one of the largest staple foods of the nobility. We have also noted that the fresh fish most commonly eaten were carp, tench, pike, bream, and perch. A constantly available supply of these was secured by stocking artificial ponds, moats, or other waters on the estates with such varieties. By maintaining a progression or series of these little fisheries, several were always ripe. These could be fished, or, in the case of the ponds, simply broken open, the water drained off, and the necessary fish easily taken. The constant care given to this sort of thing accounts for the steady employment by all of the nobles of pond makers and pond "casters" or cleaners.

Stock material for maturing at home could be secured from men who made a business of fish culture, while presents of such young fish were also exchanged among friends. At Belvoir in 1611, Croxton, Westminster, and Besk Park ponds, Rossel sick (brook) and Clipsome dam supplied fresh fish for the Earl of Rutland. These waters, stocked with such numbers of bream, tench, pike, and carp as were necessary, were located either, like Westminster pond, on the demesne, or like Croxton, on tenant lands. The earl purchased store fish from Paul Robinson of

[33] *Ibid.*, 20-22.

Crowland and Holland, Lincoln Co., who charged twelve pence, two shillings, six pence, and two shillings apiece for pike, bream, tench, and carp respectively, and in that year Rutland was paying one Robert Bingham a yearly wage of five pounds for looking after his ponds.[34]

Between 1462 and 1472 Lord John Howard had fish in some ten different waters; among these were his mill pond, the "greatest pond in the park," two at "Sprottes," the long moat at Overbury Park, that in the close garden, another pond called "Janenes," and the brick pond. In addition to these, in 1465 his lordship was agreed with a man known as Snelle of Leyham, for ponds belonging to him and his mother. Howard secured the right to store these ponds and break them open when he chose, paying four pence a year for the privilege.[35]

During the decade under consideration, Howard stocked his own ponds and tended personally to the removal of his fish. On May 15, 1462, he himself put in his mill pond two hundred roach, eighty tench, forty perch, twelve each of great and small breams, forty-seven great carp, twenty-three great tench, and later, twenty-five more great tench.

Sometimes an old pond was opened up simply to transfer some stock to a new water, or to take out the big fish and restock with small ones. Thus Howard himself narrates such an operation: "And the vij yere of the Kenge, xxviij. of Janever, (Ed. 4th, 1467-1468) I breke myne greteste ponte in the parke, and howete of that I toke in grete bremes, lxv. And pote theme in to the mel ponte the wesche is new mad; and I pote the same day into the same ponte vj grete karpes; and the same day I pote into the same ponte in lytel Karpes xij^{xx} (240) And in grete tensches the same tyme xliij (43) In small tensches xx, In lytel bremetes lxij, In roches xiij^{xx} (260), In perches vj^{xx} (120)" — and then with a conclusion worthy of an assize — "Al thes is at thes hower and day in the mel ponte"!

Again a clerk notes that on October 8, 1462, his master "brake his hederest ponde at Sprottes . . . and lete nat owte alle the water, wherfore he lete ther in serteyn grete carpes and many oder smale, and muche ffrye."

Lord John seems to have been particularly successful with his

[34] Rutland Household Books, *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 482.

[35] *Howard Household Books*, 560-564, for these and following facts.

ponds and he practised a generosity with his stock whereby several folk, at least, profited. On September 27, 1465, he gave away eighty-four store carp — fifty to "my Lady Waldgrave," twelve to Thomas Moleyns, twelve to "Chelone," and ten to "Chateryse."

Howard's interest in his fish supply brought him more work than merely caring for his ponds. He frequently bought up cured fish for his store, and did not hesitate to play cator if chance offered a tempting fresh fish bargain. On July 4, 1482, he paid a man of Downich, at Colchester, twenty-one shillings eight pence, neatly acquiring therefor sixty-two salt fish, whereas he had paid but for fifty; his wary servant going to fetch these home succeeded in further boosting the purchase up to sixty-six while the fish were being told off![36] Our haggling country folk of to-day have in truth aristocratic if antique precedent for their thrifty penchant.

In March of 1483 Howard gave twenty shillings "to John Spysers wiff, of Hadleyth," for fifty stock fish.[37] This seasoned dame was evidently experienced in the ways of her craft, and doesn't appear to have been in the least daunted by the august presence of a great noble, for we hear of no such Christian measure as that to which the fisherman at Colchester submitted.

Likewise in March of this same year Howard secured one hundred and twenty-four powdered cod from "a man of the coast," who was at the Hyth, a Colchester ordinary. On this occasion, however, his lordship only directed the bargain, the actual buying being done by one Barker of the inn who owed Lord John a debt. The fish cost forty shillings — more than discharging the debt by six shillings and eight pence, which Howard promptly paid.[38]

Perhaps, finally, it might be only a small purchase, like that on December 25th, 1481, when Howard gave one Lalford five shillings to pay "a pike man of Ippiswech" for twenty eel and some small eel which were for some pond or other[39] — or the three shillings six pence Howard himself paid on March 2nd, 1483, to a pike monger for six pickerel.[40] So much for the fish.

[36] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 214.
[37] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 362.
[38] *Ibid.*, 371-372.
[39] *Ibid.*, 143.
[40] *Ibid.*, 362.

Most of the mutton which supplied the tables at Stoke was raised on the place. In fact Howard went into sheep raising on no small scale for his day, and his interest in the numbers and condition of his stock was natural. With what a justifiable pride and satisfaction must he have entered with his own hand the memorandum of September of 1465 which chronicled the numerical status of his folds to-date:

". . . the nexte fryday be fore Mekelmes day, I ad at Bray and in the kontery a bowte, morre than xi.c (1100) schepe And thereof ware morre than v.c (500) wedderes."[41] On December 17th, 1482, likewise through his own memorandum he displayed his characteristic sharp surveillance over stock buying. Entering what apparently had been a servant's order, he writes: "And so Wateken, bocher, schal sende me for my iiij markes xx. good wedderes to Brames place at Boxsted: the most be worthe ij.s:viij.d a pese."[42]

This busy Suffolk nobleman had also a deft hand at turning a grain bargain. The tremendous consumption of cereal staples in a great household could rarely be supported solely by crops raised on a lord's estates. That noble who devoted much of his lands to stock raising was especially liable to be dependent on the outside world for grain. At any rate, corn often in large quantities had to be secured by many of the nobility from beyond their own farms. This was the case at Stoke, and Lord John Howard did not always rest the responsibility for its purchase entirely on his Steward.

On October 13th, 1482, he personally paid Sir Thomas Beston of Wulpet, 3£:15s, for twenty quarters of barley,[43] while earlier in the same month he made a covenant with a debtor, one John Beere, "before Mast^r^ Rysley at Lynne, as it perith be a byll wretyn be on of his clerkes," whereby Beere promised to pay him on his debt, five seam (sack of eight bushels) each of barley, oats, wheat, and haras,[44] for all of which Howard was to allow him the Sudbury market price.[45]

His lordship readily contracted for grain on church livings.

41 *Howard Household Books*, 555.
42 *Howard Household Books*, 328.
43 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 299.
44 "Haras" — horse-feed, from haras, a stud?
45 *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 298.

In October of 1481 he bought of the parson of "Berfolte" twenty quarters of wheat, and took that mercantile servant of God, forty shillings in hand.[46] Again in late May of the next year, Howard purchased from "Syr Perys Aleghe, pryst . . . all the cornys and greynys of the paryche of Polsted for this yer folewyng fore the whiche [he] chall have of my Lord xv marks, . . ."[47] and also determined the amount over which two men of the parish were at a point with the cleric, for their tithes; perhaps he himself got the tithes; at any rate the transaction left Lord John the priest's debtor to the extent of ten pounds. Howard paid five pounds to him then, and on January 4th of the next year dismissed the bill by a further payment of 4£: 6s: 8d. In the interim some other money appears to have changed hands between the two, for on the latter date Howard shrewdly recorded that the priest was contented, that is, paid up, ". . . saff only my Lord soposeth that he hath vjs:viijd more and his dewte, and if it can be fownde in my Lordes bokes, he must make it good ageyn to my Lord"[48] — a rather close shearing of the poor ecclesiastic!

Finally, through an obscure transaction, also in 1483, likewise conducted by Howard himself, he received a large consignment of twenty-five quarters of wheat, which was apparently paid for in salt, the necessary quantities of which were disposed of by two men named Gauge and Patton, who likewise bought the grain.[49] The bargain involved some 10£, which was a large sum of money to be spent on a single grain purchase.

When Parliament duty called Lord Howard to London, he frequently took advantage of his temporary residence in the capital to look after his wine supplies. In April of 1482 he paid to one Matok, in the city, twenty-five marks for two and one-half tuns of wine,[50] while in February of the year following he sent home to Stoke a pipe of red and a hogshead of claret wine.[51]

A London visit was also a capital opportunity to have a "reckoning" with grocer Sandes in Cheapside, from whom all of Howard's "spice" was purchased, with but one exception during the

[46] *Ibid.*, 118.
[47] *Ibid.*, 208-209.
[48] *Ibid.*, 337.
[49] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 321.
[50] *Ibid.*, 354.
[51] *Ibid.*, 484.

years 1481-1483. The reason for Sandes's little monopoly was that he rented his shop with its hall above stairs from Howard, who, in country doctor fashion, simply "turned" his bill. On February 21, 1483, his lordship had an accounting with his tenant, and through this it was made clear, item by item, that Sandes had a debit account of 14£:14s:5d against his landlord; this included 3£:8s:7¼d which Howard owed him "of old" — "as it pereth in the gret rede booke" — charges for sundry grocery items delivered in the course of the last year, and the costs for some little repairs about the shop which Sandes had paid; all this duly *viseed*, it was patent to all concerned, after subtracting 10£, the year's rental for the stand, that Lord John still owed his tenant 4£:14s:5d, which, with gracious accommodation, he allowed to apply on next year's rent.[52]

Like all of the nobility, Lord John Howard was interested in his brewing, and he himself often bought up the necessary hops for that important home industry. In April of 1481 he secured five hundred and sixty-two pounds of blossoms from a Colchester man by the name of Whitefoot, who received 3£ for his sale. Howard was short of money in pocket that day, for after subtracting 33s:4d from a debt which the hop man had owed him for some time, he, in turn, had to make suit to one of his servants who fortunately was at hand, for the balance, 26s:8d![53] Again on August 23rd, 1483, Howard paid 18s, also at Colchester, for two hundred pounds of hops,[54] and the year before he seems to have been attempting the culture of the vines himself, though apparently without much success. In March of 1482 he paid his Steward 2d. "for setting of viij hopps."[55]

The great quantities of fuel consumed at Stoke in heating, baking, and brewing passed under his tally. Again and again he has his reckoning with the hired woodmen who prepared it for use. Perhaps a settlement was made with Nicholas Root, who in April of 1481 had made "xix c (1900) wode" — bundles of fagots, probably, and whose pay to date, 7s:4d, left still a little balance due him.[56] Or again, it may have been that accounts

[52] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 351-353.
[53] *Ibid.*, 56.
[54] *Ibid.*, 433.
[55] *Ibid.*, 171.
[56] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 51.

were squared with William Sherman,[57] Richard Whiting,[58] Robert Gyrleynghouse,[59] or Hary Quylter who was paid 4s. on December 24th, 1482, "for bryngenge in xj quarters of coles made of my Lordes owne woode." [60]

Howard's interest in his wood pile and coal sacks is but one manifestation of his tight grasp on the purveyance of other than food supplies. Were there dishes to be rented or purchased he frequently attended to that business. Here his practices acquaint us with a universal custom at once quaint and curious. New pewter vessel, the commonest sort of table ware used among the nobles during this period, was ordinarily purchased by each household at least once a year. It was sold by weight usually in garnishes, and so much was allowed by the pewterer, also according to weight, for old dishes in exchange. One of Howard's clerks noted that on January 11th, 1483, his ". . . Lorde rekened with Willm Revett, pewterer of Ypswiche, for pewter vessel that he had delyvered to the kechyn before Crystemasse, in new vessell of on sorte, ij. doss. new platers, and xxiij. new dyshes of a nothir sorte, and xij new dyshes of a nothir sorte; of which at this day ther lakkyth one, and xvij. new sawsers, wherof lakketh on at this day: for the chaunge of whyche ther was delyverd the same day xvij. olde platers, xij. olde dyshes, and viij. old sawsers, the whiche weyid lviij.lb.di.; and the vesselle before said weyid iiij.^{xx}viij.lb.di.; and so ther remayned to hym xxx.ib. of the new vessell, for which my Lord paid hym the same day, for every lb.iij.d. Summa vij.s vj.d.
Item, my Lord paied hym for the exchaunge of the lviij.lb.di. iiij.s.x.d. Summa totall xij.s.iiij.d." [61]

This pewter ware was wrought in Tudor days with an excellence appreciated as well abroad as in England. Harrison affirms that "In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter of an ordinarie making . . . is esteemed almost so pretious, as the like number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates, whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as

[57] *Ibid.*, 51.
[58] *Ibid.*, 142.
[59] *Ibid.*, 326.
[60] *Ibid.*, 332-333.
[61] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 340. *Vide* also 331, 421.

ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we haue here in England."[62] However this may have been, pewter is not a very enduring substance. Easily marred by scratching and denting, a whole service of such metal in regular use must soon have presented a battered, dingy, and altogether shabby appearance, hence the need for constant change, which surely accounts in part for the practised hand of the English craftsmen.

Beside Revett, Howard dealt also with another manufacturer of this ware, located in Ipswich, likewise, and known to the Stoke household simply as "Thomas of Ipswiche." His lordship at least rented vessel of this Thomas, having one settlement with the craftsman on a Sunday in August of 1483, while September 27th of that year ". . . my Lord paid hym for the hire of vessell for all that he cowde ax, un to this day, a bove wretyn, xxvj.s. viij.d."[63]

When hired dishes were in the possession of a household, the establishment naturally assumed responsibility for their safe return. A vexatious little comedy on this theme was played at Lord North's expense during his costly entertainment of Queen Elizabeth before related. The necessary extra pewter dishes for that occasion rented at 20s. Scouring and taking charge of the ware thus hired cost 16s:8d. more. Then in the hub-bub and confusion during the festivities, it was discovered that the outfit was missing — "lost." The set weighed forty-five pounds, and his lordship's clerk recorded that at 8d. per pound, it cost 32s: 2d. to replace![64] Had this episode happened at Stoke, Lord William Howard's animadversions would have been well worth recording!

Likely enough, by-the-bye, some of the Queen's attendants made off with the lost ware; for in these ancient days thieving was a universal art, at the practice of which domestics were prone to be very adept. A household regulation of King Henry the 8th, issued in the twenty-second year of his reign, enveighs against a ponderous, elephantine burglary, truly appalling to contemplate, evidently indulged in by his servants. Article thirty of those regulations "enjoins all his highness' attendants not to steal any locks or keys, tables, forms, cupboards, or other

[62] Harrison, *Description of England*, Holinshed, 1, 399.

[63] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 464.

[64] Extracts from Household Books, *Archaeologia*, XIX, 290 *et seq.*

furniture, out of noblemen's or gentlemen's houses, where he goes to visit''! [65]

Returning for a final observation on Howard's industrious purveyance: There was not a supply detail to which he would not attend. He could buy a lock for his saffron garden,[66] and he was not too dignified to pay 11d. for "ij bolles for the kechyn, ij rounde dyshes and xj platers of tre (wood) to serve werkmen, and othyr gere." [67]

In conclusion, we have followed here an interest on the part of these noble householders in their supply purveyance which led them from its intricate supervision to the personal transaction of its most trivial business. Two reasons for such an interest readily suggest themselves. In the first place a nobleman's estate was his all; as it flourished or decayed, so waxed or waned his personal well-being. Supplies, costly both to secure and keep, constituted one of his heaviest running expenses. In 1469 they cost the Duke of Clarence 2545£:15s:6d.[68] In 1512 the 5th Earl of Northumberland thus laid out 677£:18s:1d.,[69] while in 1561, Edward Earl of Derby expended in like manner nearly 1700£.[70] Furthermore all the duties of purveyance as well as those connected with supply consumption, entrusted to servants, offered seductive temptation to even the stout of heart among a liveried crew; somewhat of this we have already seen while further details of a similar variety will come presently to view. If, therefore, a nobleman were a wise manager, he had to be alert to all that was going on in this department. In the second place, if fortune so favored him that he were not driven to constant spigot gazing in self defense, even such a man must have welcomed work like that with which we have seen them busied, in preference to long hours of logy idleness. When at home, with no routine business at hand, how tediously had the leaden-footed days dragged by! Duties like these, on the other hand, if properly conducted, demanded a constant vigilance which should soon have taught a man to mark the whirr of the hour's wings, and the swift passage of the day's post-horse!

[65] *Archaeologia*, III, 154.
[66] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 292.
[67] *Ibid.*, 325.
[68] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 101 *et seq.*
[69] *Northumberland Household Book*, 1-27.
[70] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 1-5.

CHAPTER V

SUPPLY PURVEYANCE IN THE HANDS OF SERVANTS

Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee, for he that putteth his hand to the purse for every expense of Household, is like him that keepeth water in a sieve; and what provision thou shalt want, learn to buy it at the best hand for there is one penny saved in four betwixt buying in thy need, and when the markets and seasons serve fittest for it.

— *Lord Burghley to his Son.*

If all wise noblemen carefully interested themselves in the intricate responsibilities of supply purveyance, there were many times in the course of a year when such personal buying as often engaged their attention was out of the question; nay, at best, the heaviest share of that labor perforce fell upon the shoulders of paid officers; in fact the men hired to attend to the purchase, keep, and delivery of the household supplies made up the greatest number of the servant group, with that business their principal occupation.

Under ordinary conditions, the first among those engaged in securing the "gross emptions" and other supplies was the Steward with his assistants. ". . . the stewarde of houshould is to make all forraine provisions whatsoever, and to see them brought into the house and then to acquainte the comptroller therewith, as his chardge. . . Hee is to make all bargaines and sales, or at the leaste bee made privie thereunto, and also to acquant his lorde therewith, and to take his lordes opinion therein, and to call the comptroller, or other cappitall officers, and to take theire opinions therein, as his assistannce, for his lordes better service to bee donne."[1] Money for all such purposes was given him by the Receiver-General; in fact ". . . his hannde is warraunt to the receavour for what sommes soever, for his lordes affaires. . ."[2]

Closely associated with the Steward in actual purveyance were the Comptroller and the Clerk of the Kitchen. Frequently, the

[1] Breviate, *Archaeologia*, XIII, 315, 316.

[2] *Ibid.*, 316.

Comptroller did most of the buying; Brathwait speaks of a superintendency of such work by head officers, not distinguishing them particularly. "They must be able to iudge, not onely of the prices, but also of the goodnes of all kindes of corne, Cattell, and other household provisions; . . ."[3] In 1512, Richard Gowge, Countroller, and Thomas Percy, Clerk of the Kitchen, were charged with all the work of provisioning the establishment of the 5th Earl of Northumberland.[4] While this may have been a special case, in general the Comptroller had to assume any of the Steward's duties during the latter's absence; "Hee is in the absence of the stewarde to supplie his place, thoughe not in name, yet in power so amplie, as if hee himselfe weare in presence touchinge all commaundes."[5]

At the beginning of the household year, before purveyance began, it was customary to equip the officers setting out upon that business with every datum and rule which could assure their work and safeguard a lord's interests. In 1512, Northumberland's men were provided with complete lists of all the year's supplies — quantity noted, and price, as exactly as fluctuation would allow.

They knew accurately when it had to be got in, where much of it was to come from, and when payments upon it were to be made, warrants for the necessary money being made out to them upon the earl's several receivers.[6] Furthermore, they were given a flying start at the commencement of each year, in being able to rely for their first block of supplies upon the carefully itemized remnant of stock left from the previous twelve-month. In 1512 that "remainder" in this household was quite a substantial provision, including a bit of about everything used in the establishment, from wine to hay; the whole was valued at £58:22d. ". . . as it aperith more playnly by a bill of the said Remaneth signed with my hand which ys delyvert into the kepynge of the said Richard Gowge Countroller and Thomas Percy Clark of the Kitchynge."[7]

[3] Brathwait, 7.

[4] *Northumberland Household Book*, 1.

[5] Breviate, 317.

[6] *Northumberland Household Book*, 3-27, 111, 207, etc. The Earls of Rutland and Derby, the Duke of Clarence — all noblemen, probably had similar lists and directions.

[7] *Northumberland Household Book*, 1-3.

In securing supplies dependence was first placed upon the lord's demesnes and those of his tenants who could pay their rent in kind. To facilitate such purveyance the Steward was also incharged with the demesne farming, and must needs be a skilled husbandman. He determined which of the lands were fittest for various uses, and chose the "baliefes of husbandrie" — dispensing to the ". . . saide bailiefes, all such sommes of monnye, as is to bee bestowede, as well to buye cornne, as cattell, and sheepe, and to derect such groundes, for these cattell and sheepe bought, as by his discretione, shal bee thought meete. . ."[8]

Each month of the twelve brought its full quota of supervision to this busy officer — now it was the preparation of all manner of wood for household use — fuel, hedging or building — clearing grounds — plowing and sowing, or all the sage details in the breeding and management of horses and stock — regulating of pasture and fodder — harvesting — in a word, the multifarious business of a husbandman, which, while not personally done by the Steward, nor yet by his assistants in office, was at least overseen by him.[9]

Under a careful management, a very considerable part of the year's gross emptions might be laid in from the demesne and tenant farms. In 1611 all the beef consumed from Lamas to Christmas in the household of the Earl of Rutland was supplied from Biskwood Park, which, about May-day, was stocked with young steers and heifers out of Yorkshire.[10] His Grace's sheepfolds, two at Hambledon in Yorkshire, and four at Branson, Saltby, Beskpark, and Wolsthorpe farms, furnished at least three hundred of the four hundred muttons used annually, while all the lambs slaughtered came from ". . . my Lord's store about Belvoyre and thith lambes at Ansley. . ."

Warrens, conveniently near the earl's various houses, raised the two thousand two hundred rabbits used for food each year, while a rarer dainty — swan's flesh, was likewise a home product;

[8] Breviate, 315.

[9] Breviate, 373-383: "Heare insueth necessarie instructions for the Stewarde or principall Officers of the Houshould to have respect unto, as concerning all forand occations, with the tymes and seasons of the yeare dulie considered touching these perticulars followinge. . ."

[10] Probably from farms of the earl. These and the following details are taken from a Treatise on Supplies for the Rutland Household, set down in 1611. *Rutland MS.*, 4, 480-486.

the earl had birds on the Trent river, and a "marke" in Holland (Co. Lincoln). Great care was taken of the flock, consisting of twenty-nine swans and signettes in 1613; one William Wande was paid £3 yearly, for looking after them, while each bird was ". . . marked on the bill with E. R., which was the marke of Edward, Earl of Rutland; alsoe his Lordshipe's swans hath both heeles cutt off, which is the more certaine marke and used by noe other person."

Of the grain supply, the oats (200 quarters annually) was all rent corn, as was the greatest part of the wheat, what was lacking to make up the full quota, 120 quarters, being bought in Lincolnshire "at the best hand." The forty quarters of peas was largely rental and tithes produce, while the entire 160 quarters of malt was thus secured. In addition to such staple foods, some of the lighter supplies were also got at home — dairy and poultry produce — verjuice, that much prized sauce, made "of crabbes gathered in my Lorde's woodes in the end of August" — and candles — "His Lordship's provision of lightes is made in the howse of the benefit of the slaughter howse; my Lord's yearely proportion being x^{xx} dozen."

About this same time, the demesnes of Lord William Howard of Naworth presented all the appearances of very thrifty farms. His lordship's Steward, during 1512, was paying men for making and driving plows, harrowing, threshing of big and oats, hay harvesting, looking after the orchard, cutting wood, attending to calves and flocks of sheep, which latter work included marking, driving to pastures, fold-building and folding, shearing, gathering and winding wool, all of which industry was netting many of those supplies so bountifully consumed in that great old household.[11]

While most of the provision for the Northumberland household in the early sixteenth century was nicely estimated on a money basis, and cash was supplied to the earl's officers for securing it, a goodly part of the stock came directly from the demesnes. Thus £11 was paid for the making and hauling of all the hay used, growing on one hundred and four score and five acres of demesne at Wressil and Leckinfield; Percy had his cherished "Carr of Swans" at Leckinfield in Yorkshire, under a keeper

[11] *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 36-41.

and under-keepers, from which were secured by warrant, twenty swans yearly, for garnishing seven annual festivals — Christmas, St. Stephen's, St. John's, Childermas, St. Thomas's, New-Year's, and Twelfth Night.[12]

Twenty parks in Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Cumberland supported, in 1512, five thousand five hundred and seventy-one red and fallow deer, while the earl had more park land in Sussex and other southern counties. This goodly store of venison was drawn upon, also by warrant, for festivals throughout the year — twenty-nine does in winter, and twenty bucks in summer, being the annual estimate.[13]

Northumberland had his dikes, or fish-ponds, under their keeper, and depended upon certain of his tenants for a constant

[12] *Northumberland Household Book*, 24-25, 206, 207. The form of the Warrant follows:

"WELBILOVIDE I grete youe wele Ande wol ande charge youe that ye deliver or caus to be delivert unto my welbilovide Servaunts Richerd Gowge Comptroller of my Hous Ande Gilbert Wedal Clarke of my Ketchinge For th' use ande expencis of my saide Hous nowe againste the Feest of Cristynmas next comynge Twentie SIGNETTES To be takenne of the Breide of my Swannes within my Carre of Aromme within my Lordschipe of Lekinfeld within the Countie of Yorke Whereof ye have the kepinge ANDE that ye caus the same to be delivert unto theme or to Oone of theme furthwith uppon the Sight herof ANDE this my Writinge for the Delyverie of the same shal be unto youe anempst me ande tofore myn Auditours at youre nexte accompte in this bihalve Sufficiaunte Warraunte ande Discharge GEVEN under my Signet and Singe Manuel at my Manoure of Lekinfeld the XXIJth daie of Novembre In the Vth Yere of the Reigne of our Soverigne Lorde Kinge Henry the VIIJ.th"

[13] *Ibid.*, 425-426. Parks such as these and rabbit warrens like those operated by the Earls of Rutland were very common in England. Harrison writes: "In euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouision of that flesh apperteine to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or neere vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so doo, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blacke skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcasses, and this is onelie cause whie the graie are lesse esteemed." — *Description of England*, Holinshed, 1, 343.

supply of fish, ordering in 1512 ". . . that a Direccion be taken with my Lordes Tenauntes of Hergham and to be at a serteyn with theme that they shall serve my Lordes hous thrugheowt the Yere of all manar of FRESH WATER FYSCHE."[14]

In this household also, articles of lesser importance were supplied at home. The wine lees were saved for vinegar;[15] tallow from the slaughter-house, in part, sufficed for candle manufacture,[16] while a thrifty order was issued to the Cater in 1512, to the effect ". . . that from hensforth that theire be no HERBYS bought seinge that the Cookes may have herbes anewe in my Lordys Gardyns."[17]

If it were relatively easy to superintend and control such supplies as the demesne or tenants could furnish, the large outside buying always necessary to round out a year's quota of gross emptions was a difficult business, taxing all the ingenuity of a purveyor. The great objective with a lord, in foreign purchase, was ever, all goods at the best figure. Not a nobleman was there who would not have subscribed an eloquent approval to the advice Lord Burghley gave to his son in this matter.[18]

A prerequisite to wise buying was getting about the countryside expeditiously, therefore horses were always at a purveyor's disposal, and while he was on duty, his personal expenses were paid from the household budget. In 1512, Northumberland allowed 8d. per diem, in winter, for the keep of each man and horse engaged in purchasing supplies; in summer the rating was 2½d. a day, while 1d. a day was supposed to cover a day and night's grazing costs for one horse in pasture during buying operations. The rating was also established per week and per month, man and beast, for such terms of absence from home on purveyance,[19] while the round sum of £20 was the gross estimate of this necessary cost for one year.[20]

[14] *Northumberland Household Book*, 108.

[15] *Ibid.*, 57.

[16] *Ibid.*, 14-15.

[17] *Ibid.*, 108. See also above, Chapters II and IV, where John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, secures goodly parts of his provision from his own estates.

[18] See above, Chapter caption. Note also Lord John Howard's haggling bargains — above, Chapter IV.

[19] *Northumberland Household Book*, 119.

[20] *Ibid.*, 23-24.

Throughout the entire Tudor period most outside buying was done at fairs and markets. In 1512, Northumberland compelled him ". . . that standes chargid with my Lordes house for the houll Yeir if he may possible Shall be at all Faires wheir the Groice Empcions shal be boughte for the house for the houlle Yeire. . . And if he may not Thanne to apointe the Clerke Comptroiller with such oither Persons as he thinkis good To go to the said Faires for bying of the forsaid Groice Empcions." [21] Almost one hundred years later, Richard Brathwait writes that the chief officers in an earl's household ". . . must be able to iudge, not onely of the prices, but also of the goodnes of all kindes of corne, Cattell, and other household privisions; and the better to enable themselves therto, are oftentimes to ride to Fayres and great markets, and ther to have conference with Graziers and Purveiors, being men of witt and experience, and of them to learne what places are fittest to make provisions at, and wher best to put off." [22] In fact, markets and fairs were two institutions which then flourished well, and fitted the convenience of most noblemen nicely, both as to place and season.

Of the former, Harrison affirms that there were ". . . few great townes in England, that haue not their weeklie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for houshold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby as it cometh to passe that no buier shall make anie great iournie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities. . ." [23] As with markets, so it was with the fairs, ". . . there are verie few of them (great towns) that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, . . ."

[21] *Northumberland Household Book*, 407.

[22] Brathwait, 7.

[23] Harrison, *op. cit.*, 339.

There were fairs in every month of the twelve, and by no means counting all of them, some four hundred, according to Harrison, kept, in almost as many different places. May was the favored month with some seventy-two, while February fell lowest, with but five. Sunday, or a festival, was as auspicious an opening day as another — thus Salisbury ushers in Twelfth-day with a fair, Worcester inaugurates one on Palm Sunday, while Newcastle, and other towns as well, held them on Ascension day. Various of these fairs were of short duration; others, like that at Northalerton in Yorkshire, were recurrent periodically, that particular one holding every Wednesday from Christmas until June; still others were famous for some specialty — thus on Michaelmas Day at Malton, was "a noble horsse faire." [24]

Noblemen usually patronized several different fairs even in the course of a year, and between them could get together a wide variety of household stuff. In the late 15th century, Lord John Howard of Stoke, in Suffolk, bought supplies at Stoke, "Wolpett" and Ely fairs, and at another called "oxsyn" fair. He relied upon these for part of his cattle and fish supply, and once for some cloth.[25] In 1513, the 5th Earl of Northumberland speaks simply of "fairs"; wherever these may have been, he had recourse to them for his wine, wax, beef, mutton, wheat, and malt.[26] In 1611-1612, the Earl of Rutland bought his hogs at Bingham fair, and his salt-fish, bay-salt, soap, starch, fish mats, pitch and tar, shovels and corn sacks, at Stourbridge.[27]

While a near-by fair was a handy asset to a neighborhood, as Harrison pointed out, some noblemen purchased supplies at remote centres, being influenced perhaps by the repute of the more distant marts. During the early 16th century, the Willoughbys of Wallaton in Nottinghamshire, whilst they made the usual purchases of cattle, cloth, spices, conserves, lenten food and kitchen utensils at fairs in adjacent counties, like Litchfield, Stourbridge, Lenton, Newark, Birmingham, Chesterfield, Adylton, "Goose-fair" (Nottingham), and Fazesley, also secured cattle

[24] Harrison, *op. cit.*, 343, 411-414.

[25] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 99, 107, 187, 234, 286, 301, 307-308, 329.

[26] *Northumberland Household Book*, 407.

[27] *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 480-486.

from Gravesend, Braksted, and Cowden fairs, in Kent, and from Wythyham fair, in Sussex.[28]

Transactions at fairs were frequently important and costly, while getting purchased stuff safely home was not the least of the work connected with such buying. On September 8, 1482, Master Brame, one of Lord John Howard's men, bought cattle at Wolpett fair — twenty-seven of the "grettest steres" and "vij steres of lene ware" (i.e. unfattened), paying for them £17:12s:7d.[29] The year following the Steward laid out £24:2s., at Ely fair, securing seventeen great oxen, four hundred fish, and six couple of great ling; the cattle had to be put in pasture one night, which, with their keep, cost 12d., while fetching them home, came to 6s:8d.[30] Subsequently to their purchase, Thomas Purcer and five other men, with fifteen horses, were sent after the fish; they were gone for two days, putting up along the route, at places like Bury, Lavnham, and Newton, for refreshment; at the fair they had to have a guide, whose service cost a penny, the "freight" of the fish amounted to 5s., which, with costs of men and horses, totaled 4s:9d.; Lord Howard had allowed a safe margin, giving to Percer 21s. for the job; at his home-coming, however, the latter promptly returned his cash in hand, and therewith with pronounced "quit."[31]

In 1542-43, purchases of fish and oil at Stourbridge fair aggregated £22:14s:1d., for the Willoughbys of Wallaton; carriage

[28] *MSS. of Lord Middleton*, Litchfield, 342, 351, 372, 380, 387. Stourbridge, 315, 316, 372, 387, 404, 432. Lenton, 332, 337, 374, 386, 435, 456. Goose Fair, 392. Newark, Birmingham, Chester, Adylton, Fazesley, 393.

[29] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 107.

[30] *Ibid.*, 301. I append the following interesting bit from *Round About a Great Estate* by Richard Jefferies (First American Ed., 68-69): "In the old days, before folk got so choice of food and delicate of palate, there really seemed no limit to the strange things they ate. Before the railways were made, herds of cattle had of course to travel the roads, and often came great distances. The drovers were at the same time the hardiest and the roughest of men in that rough and hardy time. As night came on, after seeing their herd safe in a field, they naturally ate their supper at the adjacent inn. Then sometimes, as a dainty treat with which to finish his meal, a drover would call for a biscuit, large and hard, as broad as his hand, and, taking the tallow candle, proceed to drip the grease on it till it was well larded and soaked with the melted fat."

[31] *Howard Household Books*, 307-308.

home was done by one Michael Cossall, for 15s., while the costs of Ysebrand Barnaby and Thomas Hyde, at the fair, balanced at 12s:9d.[32] That same year, June 1st, one hundred and eighty hogs were bought at Adylton fair, in Yorkshire; ferriage had to be paid at Rotherham, over the Don, and "rewardes," "to the pynders helpynge to kepe the sayd hogges from the corne as they drove thorowe the feldes."[33]

Sometimes, where convenient, transportation home was entrusted to tenants. All the provisions which the Earls of Rutland bought at Stourbridge fair went by way of Deeping boats to Deeping, at 6s:8d. the load of twenty hundredweight; there tenants carted it to Uffington at 6s. the load; Uffington tenants saw it forward to Belvoir at 6d. the cart "and horse meat and man's meat at Belvoyre."[34]

Such parts of the year's supplies which were not, or could not be bought at fairs, were usually purchased at some neighboring market, or in the metropolis, simply out of hand, as chance offered; Lord John Howard dickered out many a bargain directly with farmers,[35] and Stewards doubtless resorted to the same measures; Brathwait, in fact, speaks of a "yeoman purveyor" who was to assist the officers in this wise — he was "to learne out such farmers as will serve in Corne, and to bring them to the officers to bargaine for so many quarters of Wheate, Malte, Pease, and Oates, as is thought needefull: these bargaines would be made in May or June, and the corne not to be received vntill November following, and afterwards monethly, as shall be agreed upon: but the whole monye, or the greatest parte therof, would be paide at the making of the bargaine, for so may the Corne be boughte the better cheaper, provided that the Farmers be men of honesty and abillitye, and that they stande bounde to deliver in the Corne sweete and good, dried, and maulted, marketable with the best."[36]

Lord John Howard frequently made purchases at Colchester, while his wine and spice stores were secured at London.[37] In

[32] *Lord Middleton's MSS.*, 387.

[33] *Ibid.* (The costs have been torn from the MSS. — Editor).

[34] Treatise on Provisions, *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 481.

[35] See above, Chapter IV.

[36] Brathwait, 34.

[37] See above, Chapter IV.

1611, the Earl of Rutland bought Lent provision at Lynn Mart, whence it was conveyed to Brigge, and from there transported to Belvoir, by his Grace's tenants of Rapsley.[38] He went to Boston for his white and claret wine, vinegar, white salt, and iron — the latter "provision for the pharryar is made at Boston of Dansk (i.e. Danzig) or Spanish iron at £18 the tunne; my Lordes proportion yearly being Xc. or half a tunne." The year's supply of sack, Muscadine and Rhenish wines, of spices and fruit, torches and drinking glasses, were fetched from London; still other necessities — glass and birch brooms — were got at Newark, while the ". . . great well rope, being 70 yeardes, costes at Nottingham 33s. the small rope for the same being 360 yeardes, costes 18s." [39]

At the time the officers charged with supplying the house were given their gross emption lists, Michaelmas, at the commencement of the household year — purveyance began, and was continually under way, through the season. Much of the "store food" naturally, had to be secured at a particular date, or bought up at a sacrifice, if at all, while again, the exigencies of storage, or mere convenience, influenced purchase. Thus the Earl of Northumberland, in buying his beef, divided the purchase into two lots, one hundred and nine fat cattle being secured at Hallowe'en, which were "spent" from then till the following midsummer; at St. Helen's day, in May, the remainder — twenty-four lean beeves, was bought up to be fattened in the home pastures for use through the summer months. Mutton, fat and lean, was also handled after this same fashion.[40]

Likewise, the Earl of Rutland, in 1611 bought his hogs, which had to be wintered, late in the fall — October — and his beef on May-day; part of the latter stock were oxen, which were first used for draught, when they were wintered and slaughtered from Christmas to Lamas. The rest of the beef were young steers and heifers, fattened for meat in one of the demesne parks.[41]

Lenten food, again, had to be procured by a specified time — it must be seasonably at hand for use, yet there was no economy

[38] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 481.

[39] Treatise on Provisions, *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 480-486.

[40] *Northumberland Household Book*, 4-5.

[41] Treatise on Provisions, *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 480-481.

in storing it longer than was necessary, so that Michaelmas, or Candlemas, was timely date for its purchase.[42]

Notwithstanding the inflexible operation of these forces, which could not well be overcome, it was, nevertheless, possible so to divide buying operations, that all the work and expense of purveyance were distributed. In 1512, Northumberland had provided for four large annual payments from his coffers, to cover his entire provisioning expenses; these four budgets in turn, were sub-divided into ten sums, running throughout the year; they fell due, as payments for food, at Michaelmas, Hallowe'en, St. Andrew's, Christmas, Candlemas, Lady-Day, Easter, St. Helen's, Midsummer, and Lamas; on, or between these dates, certain specified spplies had to be laid in. Thus, on Lady-Day, a large payment, as they ran — £158: 19s: 1d, fell due; it sufficed to cover part of the annual purchase of wheat, malt, wine, hops, honey, oil, white salt, vinegar, mustard, spice, and coal.[43]

When supplies commenced to come in, it fell to the Comptroller, assisted by the Clerks of the Kitchen, or similar officers, to manage the safe bestowal of everything, and notwithstanding the fact, that most purchases were contracted either by the lord himself, or his superior officers of household, the first duty of the Comptroller, upon receipt of goods, was to make a careful inspection, to insure against short dealing; Northumberland orders his clerks to "... see surely that every Grosse Empcion that is bought for th' expensis of my Lordis hous be brought in and to see whether it be abil Stuf or not after the price that is set upon it or (i.e., e'er) it be entered or occupyed"[44] (i.e., stored away). Further, these same officers were to "... see all manar off Grosse Empcions that ar boght to be entred furthwith in the Jornall Booke when thei ar bought."[45] This was a long ob-

[42] The 5th Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Rutland both secured Lent food on this date.

[43] *Northumberland Household Book*, 31. Note also that the food purchases for Lord William Howard of Naworth run right through every month of the year. See his *Household Books*, 25-26, 44-48, 65-66, *e.g.*

[44] *Northumberland Household Book*, 62.

[45] *Ibid.*, 61. The Earl of Derby evidenced a special solicitude for his grain supplies — "IT'M the Yeoman of my Lo. his gard'n shall take into my Lo. his house noe sorte of Grayne but the Cheefe officer for the tyme attendinge shall see and vewe by what measure it is bought and cometh in to thende the said yeoman maye bee accomptante therefore accordinlye and

served precaution; Brathwait also writes, "When corne or Cattell are brought home, the saide Officers are presently to view the same, and then to take the particular prices of every thing, and to commend or disallow as ther is cause. . ."[46]

Once favorably passed upon, the supplies next fell to the particular charge of the different officers instituted for that purpose — all, however, still under the surveillance of the Comptroller and his servitors. Customarily, there were eight offices for the receipt and storage of supplies — food, fuel, and light, each presided over by a Yeoman and a Groom, carefully chosen and trained to the duties of their posts. These were the Garner or Granery, Cellar, Buttery, Larder, Pantry, Ewery, Scullery, and the Wood-yard.

Into the Garner were delivered all the grains — wheat, oats, barley, rye, malt, pease, beans and vetches, as they came in, duly inspected by the officers, either from the demesne farms or by purchase; whereupon, after the picturesque directions laid down for the garner-men, the wheat was strewn thinly on the floor "like to the waves of a small river, waved with a soft wind." It had to be stirred frequently until thoroughly dried so as to prevent heating. Malt, if nicely dried, was stacked in great heaps, but even so, it too, demanded watching — if its precincts were not cleanly swept, and the grain often turned up with shovels, weevils bred in it, and the pest, once established, were exceedingly hard to eradicate. Pease moulded unless looked to; treading on them prevented that calamity; oats, in their turn, were apt to get "fusty," so that, with all, these officers were well occupied men, at least, in season.

All the wine store was carefully placed in the cellar, and protected against "taking air." An expert Yeoman for the Cellar was a man "not given to rioting, but frugall and sparing, experienced to make choice of wines, and so skilfull in tast, that he may be able to judge which wines are to be first spent, and which last kept." He must watch his Groom, to see that the cellar plate was "fair kept, and orderly placed in the plate chests and upon the cubbards," counting the same, morning and evening, and at once notifying the officers and instituting search, if any

that all bee deliu'ed by hime by Ormeschurche measure onlie." — *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 21.

[46] Brathwait, 7.

piece were missing. "His office must be cleanly kept, and swete, none being suffered to breake their fastes therein, except they be strangers of great accompt."

The Buttery was the storehouse for brewed liquors, especially beers and ales. When the supplies were coming in, the groom of that office placed the hogsheads well, and after the beer "spurged" or defecated, saw to it that the casks didn't leak, and that they were well stopped with clay and bay salt; this done, and his ale "yeasted and covered," he was assured of being able to draw out his full number of gallons for service. As each brew came in, one tun, at least, was selected for the special use of the master of the house; this was not to be drawn on "much past the mid barre." This office, like the cellar, was an attractive locus in the castle, and its Yeoman had to be advised "to avoid carousinge and to keep his office private to himself." Well equipped houses had an outer buttery, where strangers were given drink, the house Yeomen and Grooms accompanying them, otherwise the latter quenched their thirsts "at the barre," and none but the chief officers were allowed in the room where the liquor was stored. The Yeoman of the Buttery saw "his buttery plate, stone Juggs, and blacke Jacks, to be faire and sweete kept" — which work was the Groom's, as well as keeping the office clean, broaching the barrels, and serving out the liquor.

The dressed meats, fish, fresh and salt, butter, eggs, milk, herbs for seasoning, together with the salt, oatmeal, and other like food stuffs, were all kept in dry and wet larders, under the Yeoman of the Larder, who was perhaps the Yeoman of the Slaughter-house as well. He had "to be carefull that all kindes of meate both in slaughter house and wet larder, be kepte safe from doggs, catts, and other vermine, and that noe powdered meates be lost throughe want of well salting and good keeping. . ." Cured fish, like ling and habberdine, was not simply to be stored up till needed for use, it had to be taken out and aired carefully, in March and October, and not spent until the third year.[47]

In every household, bread of various kinds, manchet, cheat, household, trencher, and sippet or dredge,[48] was baked in large

[47] Treatise on Provisions, *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 481.

[48] See Appendix C for a contemporary description of these different sorts of bread.

quantities weekly; the entire stock was at once turned over to the Pantlers, Yeoman and Groom, "by tale" . . . "and if the loaves be lesse than the size set downe by the officers, or that the breade be not well seasoned, or ill baked," straightway were the bakers to be informed thereof, and the fault amended. In addition to the bread, these officers were responsible for the salts, spoons and knives, keeping the same clean and accountable for every one of them.

The household stock of linen — napkins, table-cloths, cupboard cloths, and serving towels, along with plate, like the ewers, or hand basins used for washing before and after meals, and the candlesticks, with all manner of lights — tallow, Paris candles and torches, were deposited in the ewery, under charge of the servitors of that office. The Yeomen and Grooms who looked after the plate and table-linens, had no light task, for in great households these goods were stored up in immense quantities. In 1469, George, Duke of Clarence purchased in his year's supply of linen, three hundred and fifty ells of Holland, forty ells of "Naperie of Devaunt," fifty ells of "Naperie of Parice," fifty ells of diaper, fifty ells of towels, three dozen napkins, and one dozen "Napkyns of Parice." [49] The whole cost him no less than £58 : 15s : 8d.

In 1561, Edward, Earl of Derby laid out £51 : 11s : 4d. in like manner.[50] While pewter plate was very extensively used, sumptuous ware in silver, silver gilt, and even in gold, was common enough in some of these great houses. Harrison, writing of the English nobleman's manner of dining declares that "The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessell if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and vpwards) . . ." and "As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, . . ." [51]

In 1535, the Duke of Suffolk owned among other plate, the following rich pieces — of cellar plate, twenty-nine bowls, the heaviest weighing fifty-two ounces, one cup with a cover, one with a scallop shell, one "with liberties heddes" weighing fifty ounces,

[49] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 103-104.
[50] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 4.
[51] Holinshed, 1, 280.

and a cup of assay; twelve pots, including two with angels in the covers, two of antique work, and two with dolphins, weighing one hundred and twenty-eight ounces each. The ewery outfit consisted of six basins and ewers, gilt, the heaviest, one hundred and forty-five ounces, and fourteen candlesticks. In the scullery were two chargers, twelve platters, two dozen saucers, and three dozen dishes. The pantry contained four square salts, two bell salts with covers, one salt of roses, one "salt of gold holden with (i.e. by) a shepherd and sett with perle and stone," and one "salt of gold like a shippe, with perle and stone"; twenty-one spoons, three dozen and one trenchers, while, in addition to these, there were two cruets of gold weighing twelve ounces, silver vessel weighing 1,467 ounces, 4,260 ounces of gilt plate, and fifty-six ounces of gold plate, the latter alone being valued by the appraisers at £112, while his lordship's entire stock was by estimate worth £1,475.[52]

The scullery was under Yeoman and Groom who were "to be men not onely diligent and painefull, but also honest and carefull, after every meale to gather into their office the silver and pewter vessels, and before they goe to scowring or washing, certainely to number them, that none be missing; if any be, presently to acquainte the clerke of the kitchen therewith, and every night to carry all the Silver vessell either to the Clarkes chamber, or to such a strong and safe place as shall be appointed for the same to stand in." Above all they dared not be dilatory in dressing up their plate; they must be ready on call ". . . for the vessel cominge hotte from the water they bee clensed in, and presentlie to bee servide, is neather good nor wholesome. . ." These busy officers kept the sauces also — vinegar, verjuice, and mustard, and the Earl of Northumberland was careful to appoint a scullery Groom who could mix the latter favorite condiment properly, to avoid its purchase from a "sawcemaker." [53]

The wood-yard stored all the fuel, and might be under the regulation Yeoman and Groom, or a clerk, assisted by the Ushers and Groom of the Hall.[54] If, as was usually the case, much of

[52] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 452-453. "1535, December 18. — The Remayn of plate taken at Southwark on this date. . ." Plate like this was common in most of the great households.

[53] *Northumberland Household Book*, 173.

[54] *Ibid.*, 72.

the stock were purveyed from a lord's own forests, then these men perchance, were charged with the supervision of its preparation. In Northumberland's establishment, when the hard wood was brought home, these officers saw every "hundred" riven into three hundred "shides," each a yard long and a span broad, and nicked with an axe, once, twice or thrice — so that in delivering out the wood for consumption, it was possible to tell how far each hundred went.

Beside the bulk food or gross emptions, purchased in large amounts, each household was regularly supplied with "fresh acates," or "cates" as they frequently were called, which might be toothsome dainties, especially offered by the season, or any sort of common provision, as meat, fish or vegetables, butter, eggs or cheese, bought up for use at once.[55]

This kind of food which enriched at least the menu of the lord himself and his principal officers, was an expensive part of the supplies, and a special purveyor, the Cator, or Achator, attended to its purchase. In 1469, George, Duke of Clarence spent £608: 6s: 8d. annually for ". . . freshe acates and deynties, bothe of flesshe and fisshe, by reasonable estimation." — an average daily outlay of 33s: 4d.[56] The Earl of Northumberland counted on spending £105: 15s: 4d. for "Cator Parcels" as these items were called, in 1512-1513,[57] while in 1561, Edward, Earl of Derby laid out £357: 5s: 8½d., out of which £20: 14s: 7d., went for cheese and butter alone. His son, the Earl Henry paid for like food £50: 9s: 4d., from May 7th to July 19th, of 1587, an average of £4 (plus) per week, the particular sums varying weekly from £8: 14s: 8½d. to 42s: 1d.[58] Still later, in 1611, similar food cost Lord William Howard of Naworth, £89: 16s: 7d.[59]

The Cator, like all officers charged with a responsibility, and especially a trust involving money-handling, had to be carefully chosen — "He should be a man skilfull and of good conscience, for if he want knowledge and iudgement to buy at the best

[55] See Appendix D.

[56] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 102.

[57] *Northumberland Household Book*, 26.

[58] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 5, 28, 33.

[59] *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 20 *et seq.*

hande, and withall have a cheverell conscience, so that he will be sure in the laying out of every shilling to gaine to himselfe a penny at the least; such a man in a great house will thrive himselfe, but his Lorde shall lose. . . I say noe more but God make him an honest man.''[60]

The Cator's particular work is described by a contemporary as follows: ''He is to inquire and looke for in the countrie, as he travelleth, what dainties there bee, as younge chickines, pidgeons, or suche like, at the first comminge of them, and likewise for fowle and fishe, of all sortes, accordinge to the seasonne of the yeare, and to bee acquainted with such foullers and fishers, as bee the best takers of foule and fishe, to bee accustomede with them so shall hee bee the best servide, and before others; and to have a speciall care that such dead foule and fishe, as hee buyeth, bee newe taken, sweete and goode, for ells it is not serviceable, but monye loste, so bistowede.'' [61] Sometimes, however, it proved convenient to entrust other little purchases to the Cator, since he went about daily. This was very customary with the Willoughbys at Wallaton, whose Cator at different times fetched home crockery ware, ''glass for the musician's chamber,'' salts for the Hall, cloth, match and gunpowder, small pins, ink, soap, or so miscellaneous a budget as that brought in on November 28th, 1573, made up of pans, chafing dishes, chamber pots, scummers, ladle, frying pans, platters, dishes, saucers, candlewick, well rope, clock rope, traces, halters, whipcord, etc.[62]

However adept a Cator proved himself to be, he seldom went about the purchase of food on his own responsibility. Regularly, each day or week, as the case might be, he received a written order, usually from the Clerk of the Kitchen, or Comptroller, relating the items he was to buy. To do this ordering well, both these other officers likewise had to know this side of purveyance thoroughly; in fact one of the regular duties of the Clerk of the Kitchen was to keep instructed about markets and goods: ''So often as he can have convenient leasure, himselfe is to goe into the market, and ther to cheapen and vnderstand the prices of all Achates, . . .''[63] The Comptroller was

[60] Brathwait, 34.

[61] Breviate, 339.

[62] *MSS. of Lord Middleton*, 425, 434, 438, 441, etc.

[63] Brathwait, 19.

equally as experienced if not more so — "Hee is to see into the seasonnes of the yeare, that what first reneweth, and is most rare and daintie, may bee gott, and that choice of those necessarie provisions bee provided for with varietie of dressinge for the lordes diete." [64]

Sometimes Clerk and Comptroller worked together in this labour, and they might have their responsibilities in regard to Cator parcels considerably lightened through orders received directly from the master of the house himself. In Northumberland's establishment, these two servants dispensed his funds to the Cator monthly. Beforehand, however, the earl and his council had determined just the amounts of these monthly payments, what was to be purchased with them, and where much of the stuff was to be got; thus the parcels, chiefly of birds, to be secured weekly, monthly, and for the principal feasts, were all tabulated; [65] the Cator was instructed to contract for milk and eggs by the year,[66] swans were to be secured from the estates, being paid for, after the market rate.[67] Wild fowl he must get ". . . at the firste hand where they be gotten. . . For it is thought that the Pulters of Hemmyngburghe and Clif haithe great Advauntage of my Lorde Yerelie of selling of Cunyes and Wilde Fowel." [68] And lastly, he was caused to ". . . goo abrode to the Contry weikly for byinge of Stuf in suche Places as it is thoght it shal be best cheip and to by it seldomest about where my Lorde lyith except it may be had as good chepe there as other where." [69]

While the Cator was in service daily, his work varied in extent with the season of the year, festivals making the heaviest demand upon his time. Thus, in Northumberland's household, the total amount to be spent upon this sort of food in 1512, was divided into monthly payments, according to the estimated needs of each month — January, with Twelfth-day, cost the purse £23: 22d.; December fell to £17: 9s.; April, that year, with Easter and St. George's day, was allowed £9: 19s.: 5d.; June,

[64] Breviate, 318.
[65] *Northumberland Household Book*, 102-107.
[66] *Ibid.*, 108.
[67] *Northumberland Household Book*, 103.
[68] *Ibid.*, 184.
[69] *Ibid.*, 63.

with Whitsunday, £9: 11s: 8d.; while the other months ran from 100s. to about 66s. apiece.[70]

When the Cator's stuff came in, it was transferred to the Yeoman of the Larder, after first passing a careful muster before the Clerk of the Kitchen and the Comptroller, or other equally responsible officers, for, as Brathwaith declares ". . . I have knowne some cunning Achators that would decieve both Officers and Clarke, if they were not very heedeful."[71]

In Northumberland's establishment, here as everywhere, the utmost care was exercised regarding provision of this sort. In 1512, his Grace ordered "ITEM that oone of the Clerkis of the Countynghous luke dayly upon the Catorer's Stuf that he bryngyth in and that it be broght up into the Countynghous and if it be not able Stuf nor worth the price that he sittythe upon it to delyver it hym again and not to be receyved ne occupied for my Lordis use." And again — "ITEM that if the said Clerkis of the Brevements see the Catorer raise his prices of his Stuf otherwise than he was wont to doo then thay to reason with hym upon it And if thay see good caus why it shuld be raysed so to allowe it and if not to abait his price accordinge as it is worth.[72]

His goods passed upon, the Cator was then compelled to enter his items each morning at the general accounting, or else at night.[73] This was done under the eye of the Clerk Comptroller who was every day to ". . . se the Caitour Parcells enterid bitwixt the houres of vij and viijth o'th cloike And that he suffer not the Caitour to enter noo Parcells but that he knowes surely he dede bringe in And to se the said Parcells him selve examonid or he suffer theim to be enterid into the Jornall Booke. . ."[74] Finally, the parcels were ". . . cast up every moneth to knowe whoether they doo lak of the Somme

[70] *Ibid.*, 26.

[71] Brathwait says of the Clark's duties: "He is diligently to view over all the Achates brought in by the Achator, and to take his Bills of the prices so soone as possibly he can." 19, 8.

Breviate, on Comptroller's duties: "He is to take the weekelie accompte of the clarke of the kittchine, so well by journall, as the cator's accompt or chardge. . ." 318.

[72] *Northumberland Household Book*, 63.

[73] *Ibid.*, 62.

[74] *Ibid.*, 408-409.

that is assign'd for theym or ells they excede above the said Somme."[75] Henry, Earl of Derby also ordered all his acates paid for every week, and accounts of their purchase given weekly to the household clerks — ". . . otherwise," he declares "the p'ces (prices) wilbe farre higher and his Lo. worse served."[76]

Naturally, if a lord so desired, he personally could both instruct and pay his Cator, and attend to his accounting himself. Very frequently, Lord John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, or her Grace, his lady, assumed such work — thus the Steward writes under 9th December, 1482, "The same day, my Lord paid to Rychard Wulman for cattes come in afor Saturday nyght, 37s."[77] — or, under 2nd January, 1483 ". . . my Lorde rekened with the Catour, and it drawe to hym dewe unto Saterday last past 35s.: 7d. And so he is al paid to Saterday last past."[78]

In conclusion, regarding food supplies, very frequently some delicate morsel was furnished to a lord's board, through the exceedingly prevalent custom among the noblemen themselves, of exchanging food gifts, or in their receipt of such presents, sometimes from very humble, but grateful folks; whoever the the donor, he or his servant presenting the gift, was always rewarded by the recipient. So frequent was this pleasant practice, that most household books had their special ledger pages, captioned "Gyftes and Rewardes," whereon among others, these food items were inscribed, with their recompense.

During 1560, the Bertie Household at Grimsthorpe "rewarded" at least these following — "Mr. John Harrington's man . . . . which brought in present a shield of brawne and puddings." " . . . a man of my Lord Clinton's which brought a feasant and three partridges; sondrye wyves which brought presentes uppon twelfe daye." "Mr. Gwevaras man which brought two oxen in present from his master."[79]

The Earls of Rutland, at Belvoir, also, were constantly receiving all sorts of food gifts from about the neighborhood.

[75] *Ibid.*, 65.

[76] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 21.

[77] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 138.

[78] *Ibid.*, 147. See also, in the same accounts, 155, 165, 168, 172, 185, 186, 188, 199, 207, 227, 282, 283, 286, 289, 291, etc.

[79] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, Household Accounts.

Through several years such presents included large amounts of venison, boars, many varities of fish and fowls, among which were frequently porpoise and bustard, and once a seal; fruit in plenty, including cherries, apples, pears, grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, and even prepared dishes, like crane pasties. Some of the more notable folk making these gifts were the Earl of Northumberland, the Abbots of Warden, Waltham, Peterboro and Crowland, which latter dignitary once presented the earl with "2 fat cygnets, 2 bittern, and 2 heronsews" — the Parsons of Rapsley and Waltham, the Vicar of Ryall, A Hermit of Alhallows, who, fitly enough, sent into the great house honey and gooseberries — Lady and Sir John Markham, Sir Bryan Stapleton, Sir John Willoughby, Lord Latimer, Lady Coffyn and many others.[80]

Presents like these were made at any time; but it was also the custom to send in gifts to a household about to entertain, or forced to a heavy expenditure through some unusual event, like a funeral, perhaps. Thus, to this same household, when the Earl Roger was buried, July 22nd, 1612, several men, all but one of whom were squires, sent swans, bucks and artichokes.[81] Against the sumptuous entertainment provided for King James, at Belvoir, which endured for fifteen days, commencing August 7th, 1612, numerous bucks, stags, muttons, fowls, together with fruit — plums and pears, were thoughtfully donated by some twenty-five different men, most of whom were knights, while two were earls — their Graces of Lincoln and Huntington. On both these occasions suitable rewards were paid on receipt of the presents, those for the latter entertainment amounting to no less than £34:6s.[82]

While not incharged directly with the purchase or storage of food and supplies, an interesting and highly important band of servitors, the "Kitcheners," or cooks, with their assistants, who prepared the food, stood in close relation with the household men who were thus employed. The number of Yeomen and Groom Cooks with their assistants, usually children, varied widely in different establishments. Kitchen work in the Northum-

[80] *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 265-340.
[81] *Ibid.*, 487. See also 489-490.
[82] *Ibid.*, 487.

berland household required, early in the 16th century, all the time of a "yeoman cook of the mouth," as he was quaintly called, "Who doith hourely attend in the Kitching at the Haistry for roisting of Meat at Braikefestis and Meallis." Under him were the Groom Cook, who dressed the meats, and two children of the kitchen, one of which latter was on duty "for turnyng of Broches Ande for maiking clean ande sweping of the Kiching," while his little companion was responsible "for keping of the Vessell Ande for maiking clean of the saide vessell in the Squillary." [83] In 1539, the Earl of Rutland paid wages to a little group of eight men — two Yeomen Cooks, four Grooms, one of whom moved under the somewhat elemental appellation of Gudluke Worme, and two Scullery hands — William Greybeard and Henry Green.[84] In 1587, the splendid Household of Henry, Earl of Derby, enrolled ten men in its kitchen and scullery service.[85]

All of these servitors were under the control of the head officers of the household — the Steward, Comptroller and Clerks of the Kitchen — and received their daily orders from them. In 1568, Edward, Earl of Derby ruled that all the ". . . Cookes and Undercookes shall obey all and ev'ry the Orders to be appoynted to theyme by the Steward, Clerk Compt', and Clerkes of the Kytchyn, as they will avoyde my L. his displeasure." [86] Which terse regulations were in force universally.[87]

Under strict surveillance, the greatest care was exercised in selecting men for this work, the rules applying thereto suggesting at once some of the nauseating and even dangerous risks chancing from an incompetent or untrustworthy service. In 1568, Edward, Earl of Derby ordered — "Item, that the Maister and Cokes shall awayte quarterlie and but one of theym at ones, and that the same so waytyng shall not suffre anie under cooke or boye to dresse anie of my L. meate for his Lordshyppes own Table but they onely to do the same wth theyr own handes as they wyll for the same avoyd his L. dyspleasure, and allso that they shall not suffre anie to be in the kytchyn whe'e my L. meate

[83] *Northumberland Household Book*, 325, 308.
[84] *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 298-299.
[85] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 25.
[86] *Ibid.*, 9.
[87] Brathwait, 19, 33. Breviate, *Archaeologia*, XIII, 335-336.

shall be dressed but suche as shall there be allowed to make ffyres and turne the Broches and other necessarie helpes there and that th assaye shall be taken at the kytchyn." "Item that there shall be no resorte into anie place of the kytchin by anie other but suche as be there allowed and apperteyninge to that Offyce." [88]

Even in the royal household, idle, dirty habits on the part of some of the kitcheners had to be guarded against. In some regulations drawn up by King Henry the 8th, with his Council, in the 22nd year of his Majesty's reign, it was enjoined, among other orders: "Cap. 37. Master-cooks shall employ such scullions as shall not go about naked, nor lie all night on the ground before the kitchen-fire."! [89]

Brathwait, as usual, draws a somewhat realistic characterization of the Master Cook; he ". . . should be a man of yeares, well experienced, wherby the yonger cookes will be drawne the better to obey his directions. . . . In ancient times they used to have their hayrres on their heade close cut and neare; and in like sorte their bearde, or els to be shaven: not to weare long glibbes full of sweate and filth, as many in these dayes doe; for good and painefull Cookes have not leasure dayly to kombe and trimme their hayre, but onely to wash their face and handes, to be cleane; for a carefull Cooke will thincke it is a great shame and disgrace to him, that an hayre should be founde in any dish by him set owt; for albeit the yonger Cookes both dresse and dish many of the dishes served to the Earles messe, yet ought the Master Cooke well to view them, and also to tast every of them before he suffer them to be served forth. Many Cookes are given to be great drinckers, wastefull and testye; therefore that Nobleman that hath one that is honest, sober, and frugall, is to esteeme him as a Jewell." [90]

The only touch added by the contemporary author of the Breviate, is an injunction that the Cooks be discreet and diligent in their offices ". . . for that nothinge preserveth his lordes health more than the clenlie and wholesome dressinge the sayd meate, and they to bee private, and none to bee by, or privie to

[88] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 8-9.
[89] *Archaeologia*, III, 155.
[90] Brathwait, 31-32.

the usage therof, but the clarke of the kittchinge, the stewarde, or the comptroller, therefore they are to keepe theire offices, vidz. the kittchine, pastree, and the boylinge place, onlie to themselves, the better they shall attend theire service to the lorde, for if any thinge bee amisse, the blame is theirs, wherefore the kittchine dore is to bee kepe lockte, that none bee there to trouble them, nor hanginge over the meate, which is most uncomly and dangerous." [91]

No less care was bestowed upon the problem of supply consumption than was accorded the purchase, receipt and storage of stock; the whole process was carefully systematized and heavily fortified with rules, checks and counter-checks, so numerous were the temptations and the opportunities for dishonesty, and so wide the division of responsibility. Every servant in control

[91] Breviate, *Archaeologia*, XIII, 335-336. John Earle, in his *Microcosmographie* (1628), writes of "A Cooke" as follows:

"The Kitchin is his Hell, and hee the Diuell in it, where his meate and he frye together. His Reuennues are showr'd downe from the fat of the Land, and he enterlards his owne grease among to helpe the drippings. Colericke hee is, not by nature so much as his Art, and it is a shrewd temptation that the chopping knife is so neare. His weapons ofter offensiue, are a messe of hot broth and scalding water, and woe bee to him that comes in his way. In the Kitchin he will domineere, and rule the roste, in spight of his Master, and Curses is the very Dialect of his Calling. His labour is meere blustering and furie, and his Speech like that of Sailors in a storme, a thousand businesses at once, yet in all this tumult hee do's not loue combustion, but will bee the first man that shall goe and quench it. Hee is neuer good Christian till a hizzing Pot of Ale has slak't him, like Water cast on a firebrand, and for that time hee is tame and dispossest. His cunning is not small in Architecture, for hee builds strange Fabricks in Paste, Towres and Castles, which are offered to the assault of valiant teeth, and like Darius his Pallace, in one Banquet demolisht. Hee is a pittiless murderer of Innocents, and hee mangles poore foules with vnheard of tortures, and it is thought the Martyrs persecutions were deuised from hence, sure we are Saint Lawrence his Gridiron came out of his Kitchin. His best facultie is at the Dresser, where hee seemes to haue great skill in the Tractikes, ranging his Dishes in order, Militarie: and placing with great discretion in the fore-front meates more strong and hardy and the more cold and cowardly in the reare, as quaking Tarts, and quiuering Custards, and such milke sop Dishes which scape many times the fury of the encounter. But now the second Course is gone vp, and hee downe into the Sellar, where hee drinkes and sleepes till foure a clocke in the afternoone, and then returnes againe to his Regiment." — Arber's *English Reprints*, pp. 46-47 (Large Paper Edition).

of supplies, regularly accounted in a journal the exact amounts of provision he received, and what he delivered forth. If he could not write himself, then he either kept a "true tally," or some superior officer — the Clerk of the Kitchen, or the Clerk Comptroller entered his items for him.

Stock was always issued strictly according to the "Order of Household" — a series of rules for expenditure, drawn up in each establishment, usually by the lord himself, and his domestic council. These rules were frequently very detailed, often covering for the year, every variety of supply consumption, from Lenten breakfast menus, to the daily rations for the horses.[92] If there were any expenditure not so regulated in advance, such received attention each day from the Clerk Comptroller, who made "such allowances forthe of those provisions . . . as to his discretion shall seeme meete, so well to his lordes table, as all other places to him appointede by his lorde, ells where soever."

Dinners and suppers were repasts with flexible menus so that the arrangements for those meals fell to this officer, or to the Clerk of the Kitchen, or perhaps to a whole group of servitors connected with the culinary department, as in the household of George, Duke of Clarence, where it was ordered that ". . . the Steward, the Tresorer, the Countroller, the clerke of the kichyn, the marshalle, the ussher, pantrers, butlers, cookes, lardeners, catourers, and suche other officers, at twoe of the clocke at aftyrnoone, assemble in the halle, and there ordeigne the fare of the seide Duke and his household, for the souper the same nighte, and the next daye's dynner; and the marshalle or usher to bringe brede, wine, and ale, to the seid ordinaunce, accordinge to olde custome of the courte."[93] Edward, Earl of Derby, in 1568, commands his Comptroller and Clerk of the Kitchen ". . . allso to appoynt my L. ffare theym selves as they will avoyd his L. displeasure."[94]

[92] *Northumberland Household Book*; *Stanley Papers*, Part 2; *Household Accounts of the Duke of Clarence*, the Breviate, and Brathwait's Treatise, all contain such regulations.

[93] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 94. The wood-yard Yeoman had to see "that noe more be delivered out, either to the chambers or offices, but as it is allowed by the Officers;" however, "the Earles and Ladies chambers excepted, which are not to be stinted."

[94] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 9.

Every morning each Yeoman or Groom received his order from the Comptroller or Clerk of the Kitchen, for the day's deliveries. Thus the Pantlers regularly learned ". . . what breade is to be allowed into the gentlewomens chambers and the nurcery, as also into all other offices for drinckings, in morningys, evenings, and afternoons: and in the like sorte the yeoman of the Buttery is to doe for beere, and the yeoman of the Ewry for lightes." The slaughterman too, was so informed regarding his work. Some of the servitors were allowed a guarded discretion in issuing supplies — the Yeoman of the Cellar received his direction from the chief officers ". . . what wine he shall deliver to the gentlemens tables and to strangers; to the officers table he is to send as they send for it: The Earle or Ladies table is not to be stinted," but "He is to know when to be liberall and when sparing; for if vnder officers be men experienced and of good order, their doings will not only be profitable to their Lorde, but also set out the honour of his housekeeping." A good Buttery Yeoman was a man ". . . able to discerne at what time to use liberallitie, and when to deal more sparingly."

The order for each day filled and scheduled by every yeoman officer, none dared, under penalty, issue another thing from his stock but by a special command; in fact, except during the hours their servitors were on duty, offices were under lock and key. In 1469, George, Duke of Clarence ordered all offices "sparred" between eight and nine at night, and further, ". . . That no mannere man, of what degree soever he be, breake noe doores ne windowes, ne picke lockes, by nyght ne by daye, of any house of office, wherein the seid Duke's goodes lieth, withoute it be by commaundemente of the offices; uppon payne of lesinge of a monethes wages." [95]

In the Northumberland establishment, in 1512, the offices were closed during part of the day as well — ". . . all the Officers of Household bring upp there KEIS of ther Offices every night when my Lorde is servid for alle nighte into the Counting-hous AND that they have them not down unto the tyme that they have Brevidde (i.e. accounted for stock) in the mornying Withoute an Usher A Yoman of the Chaumber of (or?) an Heed Officer Servaunte com for them ANDE also that the saide Of-

[95] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 90-91.

ficers bryng up there saide KEIS into the Counting-hous every day when the Latter Dynner is doon And to fetche theim agayn at iij of the Clock to serve for Drinkings.''[96] The duty of seeing that the keys of each office were actually in after breakfast at nine, dinner at three, and liveries in the evening, devolved upon the Clerk Comptroller, who called for them, if they were not forth coming.[97]

Injunctions against the promiscuous use of any sort of provision, were insistent in every household. In 1469, the Duke of Clarence orders ''that the ussher of the chambre shalle sette lyverey for alle night for the seid Duke, by vij or viij of the clocke at the ferthest, onlesse then there be cause to the contrarye; . . . and that noe lyverey be made after that the Duke is served for alle nyght; . . . uppon payne of losinge a dayes wages.'' A further ruling declares ''That noe lyvereys of brede, wyne, ale, or vytell, be made oute of the halle to the stable, ne to none other office ne place, withoute cause reasonable; and alsoe by the oversight and commaundement of the hedde officers and the ministers, for the tyme beinge.'' The Groom-porter was to ''fetche noe woode, white lightes, ne wax, more than reasonably ought to be spent, and that by oversight of the ussher of the chambre; and that he delyver noe torche . . . of the place withoute commaundmente of the hedde officers or usshers; and that he bringe dayly the torches . . . afore noone to the chaundry to be weyed: and as often as he offendeth thereof, to leese a dayes wages.''[98]

Identical ordinances were formulated in the Northumberland household in 1512; if any servitor's stock issues passed above the normal, and he could show no legitimate reason therefor, the accounting officers checked it as a ''deficient'' and the culprit was called to explain himself.[99] No records of wine served by the cellar officers for ''drinkings'' or to the Great Chamber, were passed except such as were certified by accounts of receipts kept by the Ushers of the Hall and of the Chamber, which latter officers had to be present at the accountings.[100] The accountant

[96] *Northumberland Household Book*, 163-164.
[97] *Ibid.*, 409.
[98] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 90, 91.
[99] *Northumberland Household Book*, 160.
[100] *Ibid.*, 160.

Clerks were bound to ". . . Allowe no BRAIKEFASTS that ar servid by any Officer But suich as ar appointed in the Bille of Braikefasts Excepte it be by the Comaundement of an Heade Officer an Usher of the Chaumber or of the Hall."[101] The very same law applied to liveries.[102]

The records of receipt and outlay, daily kept by all the officers of provisions, served as a control over supply expenditure, at least from one end of the system; other accounts of prepared food, about to be served forth, were likewise written daily by a different group of officers; a comparison of these two sets of books, unless fraud were exceedingly clever, would probably reveal any deceit perpetrated. Either Gentlemen or Yeomen Ushers of the Great Chamber and Hall kept records for the Duke of Clarence, of bread, wine, ale and messes of meat, as spent, every day, at dinner and supper.[103] Northumberland's Ushers made similar records, while the earl compelled his ". . . Clerke Coumptroillour to be dailly at the Dressour to se the Service servid from the Dressour Bicause of Bribing of service at the Dreassour Viz. Bitwixt viijth and ixth o' th cloike in the mornyng to se the Brekefastis servid Bitwixt x and xjth o' th cloike on th' Etting Daies And bitwixt xjth and xijth of the Fasting Daies to se the Dynner servid And bitwixt iiij and v o' th cloike at after Dynner to se the Souper servid."[104]

Finally, at no time in the course of provision handling, were servants left to their own devices; superior officers — the Comptroller, or the Clerks of the Kitchen, were in constant round of inspection; each office in the house was visited, its condition estimated, and accounts surveyed. The overseer's aim was always, in the words of Northumberland's regulation to ". . . see that the service that is appointed in the Booke of Direccions for th' Expensez of my Loordes Hous be observed and kept withoute inbridgementt ande to be examyned every day what lakks thereof to the ententt that the Officers shall not parlune it to there prouffitt if there be any butt that it rynne oonely to my Loordes prouffit."[105]

101 *Northumberland Household Book*, 161.
102 *Ibid.*, 161.
103 *Royal Household Ordinances*, 91.
104 *Northumberland Household Book*, 409.
105 *Northumberland Household Book*, 115.

Surveillance commenced in the early morning, at six o'clock in this establishment, when the Larderer and Cooks were called out and the officers saw them strike out the services of food for the day as appointed, ". . . to th' ententt that they shall nather maike it lesse nor more for excedinge Bott accordynge to the Order of the Book."[106] In their rounds they attended to so minute a care as measuring the pots and cans of the cellar and buttery, so that if the officers asked for a larger allowance of liquor than the vessels would warrant, the mis-dealing would be discovered and the "deficient" promptly recorded.[107] Were there a baking on, the Clerk Comptroller would be at hand ". . . to see the Breid weaid that it keape the weight according to the said stinte in the saide Booke of Ordours." Further, this same ubiquitous man daily had ". . . an Ey to the Slaighter Hous at all tymes whenne any Viaundes shall be slaine their And their to se the Suette clynne taikynne owt withoute any Bribe And their weaid and brought into the Storehouse belonging the Countinghouse and from thens by the Clerks delivert to the Chaundler be weighte from tyme to tyme at (as) he shall occupie it And also that he se the Slaighter Manne maike the Vaillis (i.e. rewards) noo larger thanne he ought to doo."[108]

If all this precaution did not avail to keep things running honestly and after the "stint," a final and supreme effort at regulation was made through the daily breving or accounting, done before special clerks known as the Clerks of the Brevements, who might have the assistance of other clerks in the household in their work. In Northumberland's House, this breving was done in the counting house, commencing at seven o'clock A.M., and continuing until eight-thirty. Every officer passed up in the order of his rank, and had his accounts for the day examined; when this was done, the records were forthwith entered in the book of the brevements, under each officer's surname, to avoid checking any deficient against the wrong man.[109] No breakfasts could be served until this work was finished, and

[106] *Northumberland Household Book*, 116, 408. See also, *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 9, and *Royal Household Ordinances*, 93.

[107] *Ibid.*, 173.

[108] *Ibid.*, 409-410.

[109] *Northumberland Household Book*, 128, 59, *et seq.*

every man was bound to appear for brevement or be reported to the head officers as a delinquent.[110]

As the accounting clerks had all the household orders, the books of the officers receiving and dealing out provisions, together with those accounts kept at meal times by the Ushers, and as it was the special duty of men like the Ushers to report at the brevements any deficiency in the service of any officer,[111] the breving must have proved an intricate but withal efficacious system for order and exactitude in the entire household supply service.

Part of the breving fell weekly or monthly: thus the tallies of baked goods and brewings were entered in the Journal Book weekly when the bread and beer were delivered to the Pantler and Buttery-man; at the same time corresponding tallies were delivered to the Baker and Pantler, Brewer and Butler. Meats also, were recorded once a week, before both the Yeoman of the Larder and the Slaughterman; while once a month, the clerks saw the reckoning made before them in the Counting-house, between the Glover and the Slaughterman, for mutton skins, and between the Chaundler and the Slaughterman, for the beef and mutton tallow, and between the Yeoman of the Pantry and the Baker, for flour.[112] The hour set for this accounting with Bakers, Brewers and Butcher, was one o'clock in the afternoon, and some one of the earl's council had to be present, upon which ruling his Grace insisted "As they wolle avoide my Lordes despleasure ande stonde at theire Jeopardy for the contrary doying."[113]

In addition to these daily entries of supplies coming in and spending, these Clerks of the Brevements cast up an average, or "pie' of all household expenses once a month, in the form of a bill; they also made out the remainder of all stock on hand

[110] *Ibid.*, 60.

[111] "ITEM that the Ushers of the Chambre and of the Hall se whether the Potts be fyllid as they oght to be when th' Officers brynges theym or not And if they be not then they to shew it to the said Clerkis at the Brevynge And they to reforme it. ITEM that the said Clerkis of the Brevements inquyre every day of the Ushers at the Brevynge what Defawtts they fynde with th' Officers and the said Clerkis to reform the same."—*Northumberland Household Book*, 64.

[112] *Northumberland Household Book*, 60-61.

[113] *Ibid.*, 170.

monthly, and at the year's end figured out similar bills for the twelvemonth, together with an account of any cash balance on hand, due to securing some provision more cheaply, perhaps, than its cost had been estimated.[114] Northumberland's order for his "Bill of Remainder" voices handsomely his economic principles, as well as that round-about style his clerks so well affected — "ITEM it is Ordeyned by my Loorde and his Counsaill at every Yeres ende that the Accompt of the Hous endes of That there shal be at every such Yere ending of the saide householde a Bill to be maide of the Remeineth of such Stuf as remeines unspent provided and bought in the Yere afforesaide With the Names of the Parcells every parcell by it self With the price that it was bought fore And the daie of the moneth that it was boughte on The said Bill to be a Memorandum to be put in the Book of Householde for th' Ordre of the hous of the New Yere thorrow the levis of the Book which is ordened for the hous Bicaus they shall not have it written in the said Book because the Some of the Remeineth Yerely is not certayn and therefore the Parcells thereof is thrawn in the Somes of the Parcells of the Somes of Money bicaus the Parcells of the Remaneth cannot keep always a certayn Some but some Yere more and som Yere les as the case doth require nor always one manner of Parcells to be the Remaneth nor of like valor as they be other Yeres bicaus the Stuf that is best cheep which must be expended the most of that stuf is best to be provided and bicaus that the said Remaneth of the Stuf unspent of the Yere affore ended shal be the first Som paid in partie of payment of the Some of th' Assignement apointed for the keping of my Lordes hous for the New Yere Wherefore this said Article is maide for the knowledge of th' ordre thereof bicaus it shal be Yerelie the first Som and Parcell paid for the hous." [115]

All of this book-keeping required part or all of the services of no fewer than eight clerks — the Clerk Comptroller, the first and second Clerk of the Kitchen, the Clerks of the Spicery, Brevements, Counting-house, Garner, and the Clerk Avenar. Four of these — the second Clerk of the Kitchen, and his fellows of the Spicery, Brevements, and the Clerk Avener, were under

[114] *Ibid.*, 130.

[115] *Northumberland Household Book*, 119-120.

the Clerk Comptroller.[116] He called them out to commence work in the Counting house, at four o'clock, A.M. — each to his particular accounting. The Clerk Comptroller himself, kept a "correcting journal" of all the supplies daily coming in, and when these accounts were verified, either by himself, or by the officer charged with household management for the year, they were, under the supervision of the Clerk Comptroller "engrossed" in a "clear Journal Book," by the Clerk of the Spicery, who accounted for brevements of meat and drink also.[117] The Clerk Comptroller, likewise, was responsible for keeping the household expenses after their rating, and therefore he had leisure every day "in the mornynge afoire Brekefast and an oithir houre to study and every after noon afoire Drinkingis peruse over in the Booke of Ordoures of the House . . . by (which) he shall se theim observid according to th' Ordours in the said Booke." [118]

The second Clerk of the Kitchen, who saw the food supplies delivered to every office daily, and the victuals struck out for service, kept a "correcting-book" of all meal ratings.[119] This also, was subsequently re-written in another book, by the Clerk of the Brevements, or the Clerk of the Counting-house. The Clerk Avener kept daily accounts of horse feed and fuel, attended to their distribution, and saw those supplies locked up after the services of stock for the day were issued.[120] The Clerk of the Kitchen did the daily breving of officers,[121] while the breving book for all the grain supplies was kept by the Clerk of the Garners.[122] It was the Clerk of the Kitchen also, who averaged up the monthly accounts, "On day clere at the ende of every Monith throughe owte the Yeire" being allowed him for that purpose.[123] Office was open at six o'clock, A.M., at one o'clock, P.M., and in the evening until eight o'clock, since all of

[116] *Ibid.*, 408.
[117] *Northumberland Household Book*, 392-393, 408.
[118] *Ibid.*, 409.
[119] *Ibid.*, 329, 393.
[120] *Ibid.*, 394.
[121] *Ibid.*, 329.
[122] *Ibid.*, 329.
[123] *Ibid.*, 406.

each day's accounts were ". . . cast up the said night or the Clerkes goo to bed. . ."[124]

Regulations to achieve the purpose so elaborately striven for by the 5th Earl of Northumberland, were worked out in every household. The Duke of Clarence compelled his head officers "every Mondaye," to "take the remanentes in every office, and incontinent after to calle afore them the officers of the seid housholde, and the rolles of the pantrey, kychen, spicery, and stable . . . the expenses thereof . . . and to see dailey brefements, where they be accordinge to the expenses made one weeke afore by the dockette, whereby shall be perceived if there be any defaute in any office, that it be redressed and refourmed, and the trespassour punished by the discression of the officers; and if any of the clerkes fayle in that to them belongeth, to leese ijs. at every defaute."[125] Every accountable officer, Bakers, Pantlers, Butlers of wine and ale, Clerks of the Spicery, Larder, Scullery, Stable, and Ushers of the Hall, had to attend each Monday, when this "remain" was taken.[126] This was in 1469; in 1586, Henry, Earl of Derby had his weekly brevements,[127] and either the Steward or the Comptroller was in attendance regularly from Friday night until Monday morning to oversee that important work.[128]

In such fashion was managed the particular work of supply purveyance, storage and issuage. The manner in which the business was conducted was of great interest to every soul in a household, but especially so to the master himself, who had to pay for everything, and who ran the constant risk of being cheated or in some way short-changed, unless he kept hand well in the business and eye ever upon his servants.

[124] *Northumberland Household Book*, 406.
[125] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 93.
[126] *Ibid.*, 93.
[127] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 13.
[128] *Ibid.*, 22.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT IN THE HOUSEHOLD

In great expenses very few hath ever seen together the hundredth part of that was wasted; and princes that hath ever bene frugall, in my observation, hath bene acquainted with the grosse of there treasure at somme tymes, with there owen eies. The humor is so tickling and easy, when any affections or desires doe move, to say, — "boroughe, sell, buy, pay, give," — as the evill is not knowen before the smart is felt; and yett shall he never behold more for it, than an Auditor's collection once in a yeare, or once in his lyfe, perhaps never.

— *The 9th Earl of Northumberland to his son.*

Beware thou spend not above three or four parts of thy revennews; nor above a third part of that in thy house. For the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which always surmount the ordinary by much: otherwise thou shalt live, like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily nor contentedly. For every disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell. And the gentleman who sells an acre of land, sells an ounce of credit. For gentility is nothing else but ancient riches, so that if the foundation shall at any time sinke, the building must needs followe.

— *Burghley to his second son, Robert Cecil.*

The large sums of money which had to be readily available in the management of a great household, came out of the lord's income from his estates. Where such estates were vast, and they generally were so among the class of noblemen here described, the expert services of several officers were hired to insure their wise exploitation. These officers were the Surveyor, Auditor and Receiver-General, with under Receivers, perchance, as in the Northumberland household. There were establishments which did not boast of all three servitors, but in such, a wider responsibility was cast upon the Steward and Comptroller.[1]

[1] Brathwait, 3. "He may have an Auditor, and a Receiver; but theese are extraordinary, and two of the cheefe Officers (being men of experience) may supply those places; the one in taking accompt, the other in receiving rents and proffits, and thereby free the Earl from fees that belong to those Officers."

The Surveyor's was a various work,[2] which, if it were well done, required on his part great practical wisdom, and an acute speculative sense. With him rested the very important duty of estate evaluation, to the end that its utmost worth might be carefully assured to his master. He operated under a warrant by the lord's hand, and was first responsible for making general surveys of all estate lands and property, wherever they lay; by these surveys, the findings of which were duly recorded in a book, the nature and quality of the lands were discovered. Arable, pasture, meadow and woodlands were distinguished, while in regard to the latter, their character was further specified, for example copse or sherewood,[3] as the case might be, "for that theire commodities doe arise severallie."

This portion of his labour fulfilled, the Surveyor had next to deliver to the Receiver-General a "perfect rentall," which was a book based on his surveys, and signed by himself; through its information the Receiver was well equipped to get in the sums of money justly due him from tenants. A rental book of this sort, made out by a servitor for Lord William Howard of Naworth, in 1611, discloses the detailed accuracy involved in the compilation of these statistics.[4] Its caption asserts that "At Naward Castle at the Auditt ther holden the 14° December. A° Dni 1611, weare the parcells ensuing delivered by the Auditor[5] for the true cleare vallues uppon the foote of every particular Account."

The work is made out in Latin, and in it appear the rentals down to a farthing, of all messauges, manors, bailiff's offices, meadows, mills with toll grain, and demesne lands, together with

[2] All the facts which follow, unless otherwise indicated, are derived from the "Breviate" above described.

[3] "Sherewood" may be either wood which is clear, and free from knots and blemishes, suitable for building purposes, or it may be wood of a size to be split for burning.

[4] *The Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, Appendix vii, 413-416.

[5] While the Auditor appears to have been responsible for these statistics, the book, if made out by him, was probably similar to the "rentals" for which the Surveyor was held responsible. It is possible that one man was both Surveyor and Auditor for Lord William Howard, or it may have been that this was the work of a Surveyor, which was used by the Auditor.

court perquisites, which yearly made up Lord William's snug income. The various sources of income, except the demesne lands, were grouped and the totals struck, by counties, and the neat tabulation concludes as follows, establishing its grand total: "Summa totalis of the cleare yearlely revenew this yeare, ending at Martinmas, 1611, aunswered by the several bailiffes and receivors in the County aforesaied as above particulerly patet, M.M.M. cclxiiij.li xj.s j.d To which the profit of the Stock and store remaininge uppon the Lord's demeanes above mentioned, viz. 1110 cattle of all sorts and 3000 sheepe, accounted for this yeare, and paied in by Thomas Waters the Storer, besides that which was of all kindes of provision delivered in by him to the house at Naward Castle, Dcxx.li

In toto, summis conjunctis, ut supra patet, MMM. Dcccliiij.xx iiij.li xj.s j.d"

In addition to this book, rentals had also to be made out by the Surveyor, signed, and turned over to the several bailiffs managing estate farms, so that at the audit he could hold them on their accounts if it were necessary.

Outside the general survey, this important officer was further charged to make a secret survey of all the estate so that he could ascertain where it was possible to exploit any commodity, or in any way enhance his lord's profits. This included looking ". . . into all perticuler farmes, so well in lease, as out of lease, where by his knowledge, the lorde may make his commoditie or proffits thereof, as occesione shall arise from tyme to tyme." It meant, likewise, that this man of clever insight must be alert on his rounds to ferret out any possible latent wealth — likely wood sales, the existence of stone or slate quarries, or mines, perchance; all such, he had to report, either to the lord personally, or to his chief officials, whereupon, at the audit, which was a kind of business Alpha and Omega — an estate clearing house, orders could be given for working these new sources of revenue.

Not content with his report on well assured financial projects, the Surveyor was compelled to be on hand personally at the audit, where he presented before the Auditor and other officials any source of profit he *suspected* might arise to his lord's bene-

fit; a warrant could be thereupon issued for testing the proposed schemes, the same to be called in upon the next audit when its usefulness as a money venture was examined.

Finally the Surveyor was by no means a mere automaton, ascertaining by rule and divining rod an estimate of his employer's resources. By virtue of his calling he went in and out among tenants — and perforce saw their condition intimately, so that a generous master, taking advantage of this, might have his servant's quick eye trained to kindly purposes as well. Thus in 1561, Mr. Sampson, Surveyor for Richard Bertie and his Countess, distributed £3:5:8. to poor tenants in his survey.[6] Aside from gentle philanthropies of this sort, it was well within the scope of these officers' functions to make life a trifle easier for tenants simply through upright dealing. On this very score, Richard Brathwait takes occasion in his characterization of servitors operating between lord and tenants, to plead for men of good conscience in those stations — men ". . . indifferently to deale betwixt the Lord and the Tenants, that their harde and severe dealinge bring not to their Lorde, insteede of honour, infamye." If the lord allows them to attend to the letting of his lands, they are ". . . above all thinges to keepe their handes free from taking of bribes: for every pound by any of them so received will hinder their Lord tenn poundes, at the least." "I crave pardon," he continues, "to write that which in my harte I have conceived, even with greefe of minde. Having lived above threescore yeares, in which time I am sure ther hath bene more enclosing of Landes, racking and raysing of rente, with extreme fining of poore Tenants than were in three hundred yeares before; and yet in this time I have knowne the patrimony of many noble houses wasted and decayed, which causeth me to thincke that God with this harde dealing is displeased. And therefore I hartely wish and earnestly desire that both Lordes and their officers will not give cause vnto their poore Tenants, in eating of their hungry meales, to curse them with their harte; . . ."[7] Here, to be sure, is an old man's wail against the hard economies of his day, with its alluring, easy "look on this picture, then on that" — the happy, fanciful one

[6] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 464.

[7] Brathwait, 6-7.

of the good old Elysium three hundred years back! Nevertheless, the observation is instructive; perhaps it was not solely because of his keener intelligence, that the 5th Earl of Northumberland's Surveyor was a priest![8]

The post of Receiver-General was one of the chief official stations in the household, and certainly the position of highest trust in the domestic service. This officer had in his keeping all the funds coming in from the estates. As already mentioned, he stood charged in his own person, or through under Receivers, by the Surveyor's rental book, with the ". . . rentes of all mannors, lordshipps, demeanes, hamelettes, farmes, or any other commodities arisinge within . . . (the) office of survey. . ."[9] On this basis, when rents from any source fell due, he sent his letters to the bailiffs, or whoever had money owing the lord, and such were bound to bring in the amounts when and where he stipulated; upon his receipt of such money, he turned over a signed bill of receipt to the payer, who was held strictly accountable, like every man entrusted with any charge.

The Receiver had his own account book to keep, and in it had to be particularly noted what sums came in, when, from whom and under what title or cause, that is, for what — all plainly set down. He had to acquaint his lord from time to time, with the amounts of money he was receiving; while in some households, like that of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, the very closest constant scrutiny of him and his book-keeping was maintained. Thus, every Sunday throughout the year, the earl's Receiver-General had time provided him for casting up his reckonings, and clearing scores with all the other clerks who had got sums of money from him during the past week. When rentals came in, whatever else he may have been doing — that, he was free to drop for his more proper work. At such times he entered the receipt of the money in his book, before a witness selected by Northumberland, and had to get the same signed by the head of the household, likewise before a witness of the latter's choosing, previous to delivering his acquittance to him who paid in the money. Each Saturday he was compelled to balance up his receipts and deliveries, from the beginning of the household year

[8] *Northumberland Household Book*, 323.

[9] Breviate.

(Michaelmas) to that date, and to hand in to his lord a bill showing the amount of money on hand; with this he presented another bill of the week's receipts and expenditures, so that the Cofferer [10] could at once disclose, either his week's balance in hand, or the sum lacking for a complete payment of the running expenses.

The Receiver too, like the other principal officers in the household, had to be an accomplished Figaro. In addition to his virtues as an accurate and trusted exchequer clerk, a ready wit and handy adaptability must enable him, should occasion require, to talk to the point with a stubborn or recalcitrant bailiff — settle a dispute between tenants, evaluate a field, estimate a damage — anything, to expedite getting in his sine qua non — the rentals.[11]

John Carleton, Receiver in 1523 for Sir Thomas Lovell, thus describes certain of his activities in March of that year, entering the same in his book under "Necessary Costes" —

"Item, paid, the last day of Marche, in the fourteenth yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth, for the costs of me, John Carleton, and my servaunte rydyng from Endefeld to Holt and Cley in Norfolk to trye out ther the lande, both free and bonde, that is in traverse betwixt Gregory Cause and William Dykson, and seeng and veueng the decay of the Haven there thorow the inneng (i.e. enclosing) of a marsh at Saltehouse by Sir John Heydon, knyght, and so rydyng along after the see coste to Master Paston place at Paston, and then with hym to Yermouth, and Castre, and so to Sporle and Pagrave by Swaffham in Norfolk to see and veue the grounde and lordship there, and to trye the valour therof, and seeng an estate therof taken and geven to the seid Mr. Paston, and upon that goyng to Thetford to th' assise ther, and so to Norwich with Mr. Brooke, juge, to take a knowlage (i.e. acknowledgment) of Sir William Paston and

[10] Northumberland's Receiver was likewise his Treasurer or "Cofferer" as he was called. — *Household Book*, 224.

[11] Northumberland's Receiver had still other functions: "ITEM that he that shal be apointed at Mychaelmas in the Chequirroill for the Yeire as Coufferer To stand chargid with all my Lordes Receites for the Yeire And as Gentleman Huyssher and to stand chargid with my Lordis Plaite and Jewell With oithur asignid and Joined unto him And to have for his Houlshould Waigis for that cause — lxvjs. viijd." — *Household Book*, 394-395.

Dame Brigette Paston, his wif, of ther lordshippes of Sporle and Pagrave to the use of Sir Thomas Lovell, knyght, and with other besynes by the space of xxiiij dayes complete, xxxjs.viijd."

"Item, payd for the costes of William Berners, Lawrance Foxley and myself to deliver d li. by wey of lone upon a prevy seall to Sir Henry Wyott, knyght, thresorour of the Kynge's chamber, to be repaied at Candlemas next by the tenure (i.e. tenor) of the same, xjs.iiijd." — and once more, an entry for this same year under his title — "The sewte of diverse persones at the comon lawe" —

"Item payd to Maister Lees, clerke of the Councell in the Stert (sic) Chamber, for the copy of a bill of compleynt made by the person and of diverse of the tenantes of Blakeney in Norfolk, and put up to my Lord Cardynall in the Starte Chamber aneynst diverse of my maister's tenauntes of Cley for puttyng downe of a banke made without leve on my master's grounde and lettyng the water of the Haven his old course, v s." [12]

Carleton may have had little to do with this piece of work beyond the fee which he paid to "Maister Lees"; he dispatched that business, however, and recorded its accomplishment in an understanding fashion, thereby nicely justifying Brathwait's point in his description of officers like the Receiver — "They should not be ignorant how to follow sutes in law: for, albeit the Earle have a Sollicitor,[13] yet if a cheefe Officer (that is knowne to be in creditt with his Lorde) come with him either to Serjeant or Counsellor his chamber, he will be the better regarded and sooner dispatched, especially if the Earle be not in London." [14]

When money was wanted by the master of the house, perhaps for the Steward or for any purpose whatever, he issued a warrant for the requisite amount, under his own hand, on his Receiver, whereupon the funds should be forthcoming. The warrants later served as evidence or vouchers in auditing the Receiver's accounts. In 1514, it had been determined that seven warrants were necessary for Northumberland's household budget, in the course of a year. Three of these fell in the first quarter — between Michaelmas and Christmas, and were issued

[12] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 263.

[13] *Ibid.*, 260, where Lovell is seen to have had his legal advisor too.

[14] Brathwait, 7.

on the Receiver for the earl's lands in Northumberland, Cumberland and Yorkshire respectively, on rents for the so-called "Michaelmas ferm" (i.e. farm, or rental). Two fell in the second quarter, that is, between Christmas and Lady-Day in Lent; these were drawn on the Receivers in Yorkshire and Northumberland, on rentals of the Martinmas farm, while the last two fell, one in each remaining quarter, i.e. Lady-Day to Midsummer, and Mid-summer to Michaelmas again, drawn on the Receivers in Cumberland and Northumberland, and payable from Martinmas and Whitsunday rentals.[15]

A nice regulation was elaborately established adjusting purchase of provisions of all sorts, payment of wages, in fact, all the diverse household expenses, to the periods when this money was available.[16] Northumberland's warrants themselves were the customary triumphs of intricate, clumsy pomposity, couched in the very style and semblance of their Royal prototypes —

"WELBILOVYD I grete you wele and wol ande strately charge you without delay as ye intende to have me your good Lorde ande wol exchew that at may insew unto you for the contrary doyng at your jeopardy Faill not to content ande pay to my welbiloved Servaunts Robart Percy Countroller of my Hous ande Gilbert Weddell Cheefe Clarke of my Kichyng standyng charged with my saide House for the vijth and last payment of th' Assignement assigned unto theym for the kepyng of my saide Hous for this Yere begynnyng at Michaelmas in the vjth Yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lorde Kyng Henry the viijth and shall ende at Michaelmas next following of the Revenus of all my Landes in Northumberlande to your handes comyng dewe to my Coffers of the Whitsonday Ferm payabill at Lambmas Ye content and pay the Some of ciiijl.xiiijs.ixd. in redy Monay over ande besids that they have xv l. vj s. charged upon theym the saide tyme as parcell of there Assignement as in the Fermes of divers Meddowes ande Pastures at Lekyngfeld ande Wresill as it appereth more playnly in the Booke of Orders of my saide Hous for the makyng up of cxxjl. ixd. assigned unto theym in the iiijth quarter bitwixt Midsommer and Michaelmas Whiche is in full payment of there Hole Assignement for this Hoole Yere

[15] *Northumberland Household Book*, 111-112.
[16] *Ibid.*, 30-33.

endyng at the said Michaelmas next for to come GEVEN under my Signet and Sign Manuell at my Manour of Leckyngfeld the xxjth day of Novembre in the vjth Yere of the reign of our Soverayn Lord Kyng Henry the viijth.

To my Trusty Servaunt WILLIAM WORME
Gentleman Usher of my Chambre my Coffurer
ande my Receyvoure Generall of all
my Lands in the North Parties for this Yere." [17]

Poor Worme! with what nervous agility he must have despatched his uneasy duty, before the grandiloquent insistence of so imperial a summons!

"The auditor beeing the laste of all offecers, is to bee judge betwixte the lorde and his accomptants, and to deale trulie for and betweene all parties, and upon the determinac'on of his audite, to presente to his lorde by booke or breviate, all his receiptes, expences, imprestes, whatsoever, with the remaines of monye, if any bee. . ." [18] In such form were the accounts of Lord William Howard of Naworth, as audited in 1612 by Thomas Clay.[19] First were carefully tabulated in detail all the rents collected by Receivers, or directly paid in to the Steward, from Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Durham and Westmoreland; following these, also as part of the Lord's income, were entered the "Forreine Recepts" — sums of money paid for all manner of stuff sold, including, that year, trees, coal, wood, hay, dung, etc., in addition to certain park and mill rentals, fines, and other odd accounts. After the receipts, follow, also in minute detail, all the year's expenses — "My Lord's Parcells," those for "My Ladie And The Little Gent" — including, in each case, every item of personal expenditure — "Pensions or Annuities," "Law Charges," "Lands Purchased," "Servants' Wages," "Fresh Acaites," "Salt and Salt Store," "Rewards," "Building, Reparation, Woorkmen," "Husbandrie, Heards, And Husbandman," "Utensiles or Necessaries," "Grocery," "Mault," "Bigg and Peas," "Oates," "Wheat,"

[17] *Northumberland Household Book*, 132-133.

[18] Breviate, 328.

[19] The accounts appear to be the Steward's, at least his signature follows the title. — *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 1.

"Hops," "Wine," "Lights," "Stable Charges," "Horses and Cattle Bought," "Riding Charges and Errands," "Poore," "Monie Imprest, Lent or Repaid," "Dueties to Brampton and Other Places," "Mills," (cost items of any repairs) "Extraordinary Payments," "Linen Cloth and Yarne," "Carriage of Things from Newcastle," (i.e. transportation charges from that port town) and lastly, "Eldin" or fuel. Under each of these headings appear all of the itemized expenses with their "Summa Total" and the symbol of the Auditor's visa — "Ex. per Tho. Clay, Auditor," to duly summarize and authenticate. A complete total was also drawn up —

"Summa totalis Expensarum, solucionum, et allocacionum hoc anno xj.^{mo} Regis Jacobi, M.M.D. xxj.^{li} xvj.^{s} ij.^{d}" with the balance on hand down to a farthing — "Remanent in manu hujus computantis, cccj.^{li} ix.^{d} ob.q." — likewise with Clay's signature.[20]

That part of the Auditor's accounting which had to do with court perquisites, was executed through information which might be conveyed to him by an officer known as the "Learned Steward." This man received notice from the lord, of all the courts he intended to hold, and with the assistance of the jury, he assessed the fines for the misdemeanor tried, saw them estreated, along with other court dues, and delivered over to the bailiff for levy, which latter servitor, upon receipt of the money, turned it over to the Receiver as part of the lord's profits. The Learned Steward had likewise to inform the Auditor of these court profits, who in turn, could thus hold the bailiffs to their true accounts.

Once he began upon his books, the Auditor remained right in his room, his food allowances and other necessaries, being carried in to him, ". . . the chardge and truste beinge soe greate, so well betwixt the lorde and his accomptantes, as betwixt partie and partie, . . ." Books were balanced and accounts audited once or twice a year, as the lord dictated, after which was held the "declaration of the audit" — a checking of accounts in the presence of the lord, Surveyor, Receiver and Auditor, or whoever, as in the Derby household, sat in the domestic council of the noble master.[21]

[20] *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 1-66.
[21] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 34-35, 63, and 89.

When the audit was taken in Northumberland's establishment, the household was temporarily reorganized on a much smaller scale (some forty-two people constituting its diminished personnel) — in one of the lesser houses belonging to the earl, usually at New Lodge, and the process was called "keeping the Secret House." This was done to give the responsible servants and officers full hours unmolested for their work at the accounting. At this time all the possessions of his Grace were invoiced, down to the very ward-robe stuff, and along with the busy officers and clerks engaged in the accounting, were representatives from most of the household departments; among others, for example, the following — "THE Yoman of the Bedds that staunds chargid with my Lords Warderob Stuff For the Delyvre of the saide Stuffe at the accompt. The Skynner that is in my Lords Warderob For the helpynge to receyve the saide Stuffe when it is charged agayne into the Office." The two Grooms of the Ward-robe ". . . For the Berynge of the said Stuffe to the Warderob agayne when it is charged at the Accompt to the Office." [22]

In conclusion, the labors of these several officers resulted each year in a goodly crop of valuable papers, and all such accounts and records of surveys were kept along with other documents of value in a room called the "Evidence House." The key of this chamber was kept by the lord himself and no one was allowed therein except in the master's presence, unless it were some especially trusted servant. Brathwait, drawing upon what he doubtless had seen, describes with clerk-like satisfaction his idea of a properly equipped strong room — ". . . I wish the Earle to have in his house a chamber very stronge and close, the walls should be of stone or bricke, the dore should be overplated with iron, the better to defend it from danger of fire: The keyes therof the Earle himselfe is to keepe. In this Chamber should be cubbards of drawing boxes, shelves, and standards, with a convenient Table to write upon; and upon every drawing box is to be written the name of the Mannor or Lordship, the Evidence wherof that box doth containe. And looke what Letters Patents, Charters, Deeds, Feofements, or other writings, or Fines, are in every box; a paper role is to be made in the saide box, wherin is to be sett downe everv severall deede or writing, that when the

[22] *Northumberland Household Book*, 308, 365.

Earle, or any for him, hath occasion to make search for any Evidence or writing, he may see by that Role, whether the same be in that box or not. In the Standerds and upon the Shelves are to be placed Courte Roles, Auditor's accompts, Bookes of Survey, etc. Also empty boxes both for Letters patents and other Evidences, when ther is cause to carry them out of that chamber. If ther be occasion, of search to be made for any Evidence in this house (the Earle himselfe not being present); vnder two persons at the least should not enter therin; and if they take out any Evidence or writings, in the same boxe out of which they be taken they are to leave, vnder their hands, in writing, the name of every such Deede or Writing as by them is taken forth, and the cause for which they did it, and the day and yeare of their so doing, and also by what warrant: for the Earle ought to have more care of the safe keeping of his Evidences, than either of his plate or Jewells." [23]

The 5th Earl of Northumberland had two evidence houses, one in each of his castles, Leckinfield and Wressil. A servant was constantly in charge of each house and its precious contents, to whom my ". . . Lorde useth ande accustomyth to gyf as in Annuitie by Warraunt to be paide owt of his Lordshipis Coffures . . . for standynge charged with the delyvray of my said Lordis Evidences owt and for receyvynge of them in again To be paid quarterly after xxs. a quarter and for the hole Yere — iiij l." [24]

The interest of most noblemen in their finances was intense and constant, and where such was not the case, a zealous officer of the household might properly recall to his negligent master, the latter's obligation regarding his exchequer. On one occasion, Lord Willoughby, absorbed in the weighty responsibilities of the campaign in the Netherlands, received a familiar letter, from one of his servants — John Stubbe, in which his Grace was emphatically besought in part as follows: — "1586, May 14. London, Barbican." "From your own open gallery there." — "Myn honorable good lord, I know well your daily and nightly labors and waches may well excuse youre not wrighting or short wrighting. . . Good my lord, be not driven nor drawn from

[23] Brathwait, 18.

[24] *Northumberland Household Book*, 379, 351.

understanding your own state. Looke into your own accompts, as your leisure may serve. Be auditor auditorum in all your own business. My lord Tresurer will do so. My Lord of Lecestre doth so. The wise Lord Keeper wold do so. Hir Majesties self will do so. Bergen op Zoon is but a chery fare. It is Lincolnshire Holland (i.e. the county, in England) that must cherish your honorable age. . .'' [25]

It was, then, through the carefully supervised service of this highly specialized and competent officialdom, that the Tudor nobility diligently sought to rightly husband their wealth, maintain a comfortable balance under the thrift columns in their ledgers, and avoid that wretched and disgraceful dilemma — land sales, against which shrewd old Burghley so emphatically warned his son.

[25] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 351.

CHAPTER VII

GREAT CHAMBER AND HALL SERVICE IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Yet if his majesty our sovereign lord
Should of his own accord
Friendly himself invite,
And say "I'll be your guest tomorrow night,"
How should we stir ourselves, call and command
All hands to work! Let no man idle stand.
Set me fine Spanish table in the hall,
See they be fitted all;
Let there be room to eat,
And order taken that there want no meat.
See every sconce and candlestick made bright,
That without tapers they may give a light.
Look to the presence: are the carpets spread,
The dais o'er the head,
The cushions in the chairs,
And all the candles lighted on the stairs?
. . . . . .
Let each man give attendance in his place.

— *Elizabethan Lyrics* — BULLEN.

Among the many rooms and apartments which the castles of the English nobility invariably contained, there were always two of conspicuous importance in the routine life of the household; these were the Great, or Dining Chamber, and the Great Hall. The Great Chamber was generally on the second floor — "above stairs" was the common expression in regard to its location, — near the head of the principal or grand stairway; with the exception of the Hall, it was probably the largest room in the castle, and could conveniently accommodate quite an assemblage. Thus the Great Chamber in Raglan Castle, the seat of the Earls of Worcester, in Monmouthshire, was forty-nine by twenty-one feet,[1] while that at Haddon House in Derbyshire,

[1] *MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 2.

one of the residences of the Earls of Rutland, was probably about two-thirds as large as the Hall itself.[2]

The Hall was situated on the ground floor of the castle, and its proportions, always majestic, were no mean gauge of the wealth and position of its noble owner. In the royal palaces the Great Halls were truly splendid, that at Eltham being one hundred and one feet long, and thirty-six feet in width; its isolated location furthermore, permitted of ten windows down either side, in addition to bow windows which were fourteen feet wide and ten feet deep.[3] The more modest Great Hall of Raglan Castle, as described by a contemporary was ". . . 66 feet long and 28 feet broad, having a rare geometrical roof built of Irish oak, with a large cupola on top for light, besides a compass window 16 feet high in the light, and as much in compass, with two or three large windows more in the upper end."[4] Sir John Fastolfe's Great Hall in his Castle at Caister near Yarmouth was fifty-nine feet by twenty-eight feet,[5] and Sanford, who visited Kirkoswald in 1610, says of the Hall — "The Hall I have seen, 100 feet long; and the great portraiture of King Brut lying in the end of the roof of this Hall, and of all his succeeding successors Kings of England portraicted to the waist, their visage, hats, feathers, garbs, and habits, in the roof of this hall; . . ."[6]

The Great Chamber and the Hall were the principal living rooms in the house throughout the day — up to the time of retiring, in fact — a full servant equipment being provided for both places between meals, while during repasts each was enlivened by the operation of the elaborate regimen observed for properly serving up all food to table.

Back in the early part of the 16th century, (c. 1512.), the 5th Earl of Northumberland had daily servant attendance in his Great Chamber between meals carefully proportioned among three groups of servitors — for morning, afternoon and evening. Twenty hands were on duty in the forenoon, nineteen men and a child, of whom six were Gentlemen — an Usher, a Carver, a

2 *Archaeologia*, VI, 358 (Plate).
3 *Ibid.*, 367.
4 *MSS. of Duke of Beaufort*, 2.
5 Inventory of effects, etc., *Archaeologia*, XXI, 273, note.
6 *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 513.

Sewer, and a Cup-bearer to my lord, a Waiter for the board-end, and a Marshal of the Hall. Ten were Yeomen and Grooms, while four were Yeomen and Groom officers — Yeoman Usher of the Hall, Yeoman of the Pantry, Groom of the Buttery and Groom of the Ewery. The Gentlemen, Yeomen and Grooms came on duty at seven o'clock in the morning, and staid until one o'clock P.M., serving through dinner. This was their principal service; they then had leisure to do as they liked from one until three o'clock, when evensong was rung and "drinkings" served, whereupon they were to return to duty "Ande they not to faill than to com in again And raither yf any straungers cum." The same regulation governed the four Yeomen and Groom officers, except that their duties commenced at six o'clock, A.M., enduring until eight o'clock when they went into their offices for serving breakfasts; that done, they again returned to attendance from nine o'clock until ten, when dinner commenced.

In the afternoon a new shift of eighteen, changed somewhat in personnel, came on; the first group of Gentlemen, the same in function, serving now, however, to my lady — while a "Yoman Usher of the Chamber to my Lady" was added to their number; they commenced attendance at one o'clock, having served at dinner, from ten to one, and remained on until four o'clock, P.M., when supper was served. The Yeomen and Grooms in this second shift were reduced to seven, with terms of service like the Gentlemen; there were four Yeoman and Groom officers, but they now stood Yeoman of the Beds, of the Buttery, Groom of the Pantry, and Groom Usher of the Hall. These latter were in their offices during dinner, from ten to one o'clock, and in attendance from one until three o'clock, when they again repaired to their offices for the service of drinkings. This latter was a short work, so that that attendance really endured until four o'clock in the afternoon, when supper was served. The afternoon group of servants were free in the forenoon, from seven to ten o'clock.

Evening attendance which lasted from seven to nine o'clock, was given by both groups of Gentlemen, Yeomen and Grooms — thirty hands in all, while Yeomen and Groom officers were relieved from duty, time being then allowed them for their day's accounting.[7] Such was the stately personal attendance between

[7] *Northumberland Household Book*, 309 *et seq.*

meals, truly royal in character, enjoyed by this great North-country earl in the early Tudor period.

Somewhat later than this time, it was customary for the Gentlewomen of a nobleman's wife to be at hand in the Great Chamber also ". . . for the better furnishinge of the same, vidz. from nyne of the clocke untill eleven, and then to attende theire ladie to the chappell, or prayer, and from one of the clocke after dynner, untill three in the afternoone, and then they maye departe, if there bee noe gentlewomen stranngers to bee enterteyned, untill five of the clocke; that supper bee towardes, and after supper so lonnge as theire ladie is in presence and noe longer."[8]

The Hall, a less exclusive place, was constantly under the charge of the Yeoman Usher of the Hall, ". . . and his place before and after meales is to sett at the upper ende of the halle, or to walke up and downe the hie space there, and to enterteyne all stranngers, and if there bee any noyce to still it, for there is noe place of hie talke to bee suffered, . . ."[9] this, in addition to his special functions during meals, of which, more presently, and his superintendence of the daily cleaning of the Hall.

Responsibility for proper service between meals in both Great Chamber and Hall, fell to the Gentlemen Ushers of the Great Chamber. "The one of them," says Brathwait, "for the moste parte is to be in the great chamber, or dining chamber, both forenoone and afternoone, and at after supper to see that the saide chamber be furnished with gentlemen waiters: and he is to give warninge to the Vsher of the Hall, that it bee not vnfurnished of yeomen, but that ther may be always in a readines both gentlemen and Yeomen, to attend upon the Earle and Countes, either within the house or abroade, as they shal be commaunded."[10] For the better fulfillment of these duties, the Gentleman Usher had to assist him on these occasions, a Gentleman Waiter and a Yeoman or two, appointed by himself.[11]

Service during meals in the Great Chamber and the Hall was naturally more elaborate still, and very great care was bestowed upon it. The nobility were not only huge consumers of food,

[8] Breviate, *Archaelogia*, XIII, 323.
[9] *Ibid.*, 333.
[10] Brathwait, 12.
[11] Breviate, 323.

but as proper men should, they greatly enjoyed eating, coming to table with thankful pleasure, and genially bidding to their repasts, strangers, great and small, who chanced to be within their gates. Altogether they took a justifiable pride in the stately operation of the whole comestible process, carefully choosing trained officers and flunkies to conduct its intricate details skilfully, for the reputation and the general well-being of their houses in the eyes of their contemporaries, depended no little upon the smooth running of this machinery, as we shall see.

In the first place, dining was a considerable part of each day's order; in fact, the preparation and eating of food was in most houses an almost continuous process. Ordinarily, that is excepting in special seasons like Lent, the establishment of the 5th Earl of Northumberland breakfasted from eight until nine o'clock, that repast almost merging into dinner, which was under way from ten until one o'clock, P.M. At three in the afternoon, drinkings were served, while supper was on the boards from four until seven o'clock, the day closing with a collation called the "Livery," served in this household at nine, P.M. This latter was quite a substantial fare, its menu for my lord and lady consisting of ". . . two Manchetts (a variety of bread) a Loof of Houshold Breid a Gallon of Bere and a Quarte of Wyne. . ." With the food were delivered also the lights for the night, their Graces retiring to their chambers with ". . . a Pound of White Lightts conteynyng xij Candles and vi Syses Viz. iij to my Lordis Footsheit and iij to my Ladys Chambre." [12]

Along in the reign of Elizabeth the hours for dinner and supper were set later than ten o'clock A.M. and four o'clock P.M. Harrison says "the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Students do ordinarilie go to dinner at ELEVEN before noone, and to supper at five, or between FIVE and SIX at afternoone." [13] The hour for dinner, in the 17th century, in the houses of the Earl of Worcester and Lord Fairfax both, was eleven o'clock, A.M.[14]

While all food was set forth with a dignified solemnity, if one can judge from the servant equipment as it was appointed in different households, dinner was universally the pièce de ré-

[12] *Northumberland Household Book*, 96, 310, 314, 317, 318, 319. *Royal Household Ordinances*, 89, 90.

[13] *Northumberland Household Book*, 434.

[14] *Ibid.*, 419, 424.

sistance, upon whose elaborate pageantry no pains were ever spared. Customarily this mid-day meal was served in a well-ordered progress, adapted to the various ranks of people in a household, in the Great Chamber, the Hall and the kitchen.

In the Great Chamber two tables were dressed, one for the master of the household himself, with his family, and a second, known as the Knight's board, because ordinarily it accommodated any knights and gentlemen in the household; at this second table sat also her Grace's gentlewomen.[15] In the Hall, likewise were set several tables, the first of which in order, was always the Officer's board, for the upper dignitaries in the household — the Steward, Comptroller, Receiver, Gentleman of the Horse, and perhaps others, depending upon custom. A second table might be called the Yeoman's board, for at it were placed the Yeoman of the Horse, of the Beds, and so on, down, while below these were grouped the Grooms of the Stable.

These several constituted the first tables; after them boards were again prepared in the Hall for the waiters and others engaged in attendance upon the first tables, both in the Great Chamber and the Hall. The Gentleman Usher presided at the table of the Gentlemen Waiters, with the lord's Carver and Sewer beside him; below the Gentlemen Waiters came the Yeomen Ushers of the Chamber and the Yeomen of the Cellar, then the rest of the Yeomen Waiters and Grooms; still below these followed the Footmen, and the servitors, probably footmen also, who had attended at the Knight's board, while at the very bottom of this table were grouped the Officer's personal servants.

Another second table in the Hall was known as the Clerk's board, presided over by the Clerk of the Kitchen. His fellow diners were the Master Cook, the Usher of the Hall, the Yeomen and Grooms of the Pantry, Buttery, Ewery, the Groom of the Cellar, the Achator, the Yeoman of the Scullery, the Groom of the Hall, and perhaps some of the under cooks. The rest of the members of the household — hands from the kitchen, the Slaughterman and the Groom of the Scullery had their dinners in the kitchen.

This customary grouping has been set forth here in detail, because it was straightly observed, tremendous emphasis always

[15] *Ibid.*, 420, 301. *MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 3, 5. Brathwait, 23.

being laid on a man's status. A hodge-podge table order were a shiftless error indeed — enough to disgrace a Gentleman Usher or a Marshal of the Hall, and to throw the entire domestic polity into disarray; nay more, so deeply ingrained in all was the sense of position with its tinkling attributes, that were any mistake in its observance made by an officer in charge, it possibly had amounted to a serious affront to the slighted servitor, and might lead instantly to a vociferous attempt at rectification by the aggrieved one, but of the observance of rank at table, more presently.

Service at the different tables was performed by corps of trained servants. Those ordinarily in attendance at his Grace's board were a Gentleman Usher, with Yeoman assistant, Carvers, Sewers, Cup-bearers, Gentlemen and Yeomen Waiters, together with Yeomen of the Pantry, Buttery, and Ewery, the Clerk of the Kitchen, and others not so directly concerned. In the household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, all hands in the first group of servants, i.e. the Ushers, Carvers, Sewers, Cup-bearers, and Waiters, were chosen by the earl himself from among the men hired to serve him in other capacities ordinarily — as Stewards, Bailiffs, Park-keepers, Foresters, etc., and they all filled these honorary places of personal attendance on his Grace for an entire quarter at a time, serving in rotation shifts, and receiving no direct remuneration for the work. In this same establishment when the earl had his yearly accounting, and the "Secret House" was in operation, his Grace's second and third sons filled the positions of Carver and Sewer to their father at his table.[16] In other households some of these positions about the lord's table were filled simply for the day at the order of the Gentleman Usher; this was the case in the Earl of Worcester's establishment, where "daily waiters" are noted.

The Knight's board was attended by Footmen; the officer's table in the Hall by the personal servants of these dignitaries, under direct superintendence of the Usher of the Hall, who helped to place the food on the table. The Grooms of the Hall and the Stables waited at the Yeomen's board, and after carrying food to these, their official betters, they took their own places to

[16] *Northumberland Household Book*, 53 *et seq.*, 304-305, 362. *MSS. of the Duke of Beaufort*, 5. *Royal Household Ordinances*, 89.

be refreshed with food which they had fetched up for themselves. Serving at this second shift was done under the direction still of the Usher of the Hall, some of the men at least, like the officer's servants, waiting on themselves.

So much for some of the matter-of-fact details necessary to understand the elaborate ceremony of dining in the 16th century. This, however, is but the prosaic side of the picture, and life enough there was in the process, and zest, could one but have dropped in to enjoy it at Haddon House, Raglan Castle, or any one of the many splendid old establishments which flourished so proudly in that far gone day! But what was the ceremony of dining like when it was actually under way?

In the first place Mr. Gentleman Usher of the Great Chamber, with his assistant, the Yeoman Usher of the Chamber, was probably the most active man in the entire household personnel, and bore the heaviest responsibility in connection with the food service "The Gentleman Usher his place and chardge is, to governe all above staires, or in the presence of his lorde," and Richard Braithwait further enlarges on this officer's functions in this wise: "In former times gentlemen that were of years and long trained and experienced in that kinde of service, were chosen to this place; but of later yeares Earles and Ladies have better liked yonge gentlemen that were neate and fine in their apparell, to serve them in that roome; and yet, in my simple opinion, none ought to be chosen therevnto that had not for some yeares served as a gentleman waiter, and that could both serve and carve in a decent and comely manner; for he cannot possibly teach others that is ignorant himselfe; and his place is not only to instructe the gentlemen and yeomen waiters, but also the Yeoman of the Ewry, Pantry, and Seller, how and in what sorte they are to bring into the dining chamber, and to place upon the cubbard and table all things necessary for the service of their Lord." [17]

That his rule in his proper sphere might be the better he was ". . . to have at commaundemente, all the gentlemen and yeomen wayters, and to see into theire behaviors and fashion, that it bee civill, comelie and well, and if any defecte bee, in any of them, (he is) to instructe them in curteous manner, which is

[17] Brathwait, 10.

both good for them, and bettereth the lordes service; and if any of those saide wayters doe obstinatelie refuse to amende such faultes and deformities, then the gentleman usher is to acquainte the principall officers of the householde therewith, whoe is to reforme such defectes in them, or to dischardge them theire lordes service, as men not woorthie to serve in that place."[18] A check-roll of the Gentlemen and Yeomen Waiters was in the hands of the Gentleman Usher, so that all were bound to come to him for their instructions.[19]

The Gentleman Usher on duty "above stairs" began operations early — "The one of them is every morning to come into the great chamber, . . . and galleries at a convenient hower, to see that they be cleane swept and sweete kepte, and fires, or boughes, or rushes (as the time of the yeare requireth to be) in the chimneys."[20] The crafty Bassiolo, Gentleman Usher in Chapman's play of that title, shows, on one occasion, what a serious responsibility deftness in that one duty of clean sweeping and neat keeping entailed for him.

An entertainment is in preparation, and Bassiolo, hurried and vexed with incompetent help, is getting the room ready, he and his servants with carpet and rushes being under way with the work:

> Bas. Come strew this roome afresh; spread here this carpet;
> Nay, quickly, man, I pray thee; this way foole;
> Lay me it smoothe and even; looke if he will!
> This way a little more; a little there.
> Hast thou no forecast? slood, me thinks a man
> Should not of meere necessitie be an asse.
> Looke how he strowes here too: come, Sir Giles Goosecap,
> I must do all myselfe; lay me um thus,
> In fine smoothe threaves, looke you, sir, thus, in threaves.
> Perhaps some tender ladie will squat here,
> And if some standing rush should chance to pricke her,
> Shee'd squeak & spoile the songs that must be sung.
>
> (Act 2, Scene 1.)

The Great Chamber in order, the exacting work of setting the tables next engaged the attention of the Gentleman Usher and his Yeoman Usher. Instructions about the character of the din-

[18] Breviate, 322-323.
[19] *Ibid.*, 324.
[20] Brathwait, 11.

ner, whether it was to be a state function or not, together with a notice of the exact attendance at tables, were sent by the Usher to the Yeomen of the Pantry, Buttery and the Ewery, who forthwith made their necessary issues of plate and linen — damaske, diaper, canvas or holland as the case might be, and attended to dressing the boards.[21]

To that end the Ewerer ". . . shall brynge forthe clenly dressed and fayre applyed Tabill-clothis, and the cubbord-clothe, cowched uppon his lefte shulder, laying them uppon the tabill ende, close applied unto the tyme that he have firste coverd the cubbord; and thenne cover the syde-tabillis, and laste the principall tabill with dobell clothe draun, cowched, and spradde unto the degre as longeth therto in festis.

"Thenne here-uppon the boteler or panter shall bring forthe his pryncipall salte, and iiij or v loves of paryd brede, havyng a towaile aboute his nekke, the tone half honge or lying uppon his lefte arme unto his hande, and the kervyng knyves holdyng in the ryght hande, iuste unto the salte-seler beryng.

"Thenne the boteler or panter shall sette the seler in the myddys of the tabull accordyng to the place where the principall soverain shalle sette, and sette his brede iuste couched unto the salte-seler; and yf ther be trenchours of brede, sette them iuste before the seler, and lay downe faire the kervyng knyves, the poynts to the seler benethe the trenchours.

"Thenne the seconde seler att the lower ende, with ij paryd loves therby, and trenchours of brede yf they be ordeyned; and in case be that trenchours of tree (ie. wood) shalbe ordeyned, the panter shall bryng them with nappekyns and sponys whenne the soverayne is sette att tabill.

"Thenne after the high principall tabill sette with brede & salte, thenne salte-selers shall be sette uppon the syde-tabyls, but no brede unto the tyme such people be sette that fallith to come to mete. Thenne the boteler shall bryng forth basyns, ewers, and cuppis, Pecys (?) sponys sette into a pece, redressing all his silver plate, upon the cubbord, the largest firste, the richest in the myddis, the lighteste before."

Meantime the Gentleman Usher sought out his Carver, Sewer and Cup-bearers, and accompanied them to the ewery, where they

[21] Breviate, 321.

all had to wash their hands, after which the Carver and Sewer were "armed" under the Usher's eyes, by the Yeoman of the Ewery. A contemporary also describes that process as follows: "Hee (that is, the Yeoman of the Ewery) is alsoe to arme the carver, fouldinge his arminge towell full three fyngers broade or more, and that to putt about his necke, bringinge both sides of the towell even downe to his girdell, and puttinge them under his girdell faste, a littell waye, the endes are to hannge from thence right downe. His lordes and ladies napkines to bee laide faire, on his lefte shoulder, his owne napkine on his lefte arme, and so the carver beeinge armede . . . Hee is to arme the sewer with a towell, of the like foulde, to the carver, and is to putt it baudericke wise, aboute his necke, with a knotte thereof, so lowe as his knee, and both the endes of the towell to hannge lower at the leaste by a foote than the knotte. . ." [22]

The arming over the Gentleman Usher escorted the Carver to the Great Chamber ". . . where after dowtifull obedience made, the carver is to take sayes, of the breade, and salte, of the lord and ladies spoones, knyves, trenchers, and napkines, and to give those sayes to the pantler, who is to attend the chamber to that purpose. . ." [23] Because of this attendance by the Yeoman of the Pantry, noblemen liked to have a man for that office ". . . of seemely stature, wearing his apparell clenly and handsome. . ." [24] Whilst all this was under way, the Sewer repaired to the dresser to attend to his Grace's meat.

By this time the dinner hour was at hand, and his lordship and all appointed to dine with him in the Great Chamber had gone thither. The seating at table was arranged very carefully; at the lord's table the great salt-cellar, placed at its center, became forthwith a conspicuous marker of social status, for all were ranked at the board with reference to it. "The lorde . . . is to have his seate in the midest of the table, a littell above the salte, his face beeinge to the whole vewe of the chamber, and opposite to him, the carver is to stande, and at the upper hannde of the carver, the countis, or ells to sitte above the carver of the same side hee is of, opposite to her lorde. . ." [25] Be-

[22] Breviate, 332.
[23] *Ibid.*, 323-324.
[24] Brathwait, 29.
[25] Breviate, 321.

cause of this important function the salt-cellars used in the Great Chamber at least, were immense architectural structures. Sir John Fastolfe owned no fewer than six of those monumental master-pieces, one of which, in gilt, weighed fully thirty-four ounces![26]

All standing at their places, the Chaplain offered thanks. "Thenne the principall servitours moste take in ij handys, basyns and ewers, and towell, and therwith to awayte and attende unto the tyme that the grace be fully saide; and thenne incontynent after grace saide, to serve water with the principall basyn and ewer unto the principall severayne, and ij principall servitours to holde the towell under the basyn in lenght before the sovrayne; and after that the sovrayne hath wasshe, to yeve thenne water unto such as ben ordeyned to sytte at the sevrayne-is messe.

"Thenne after the wesshinge servid, the sovrayne will take his place to sitte, and to hym such persons as hit pleaseth hym to have. uppon which time of sittyng, the servitorys moste diligently a-wayte to serve them of qussyons, and after that done, to make such personys to be sette at the lower messe as the principall soverayne aggrees that be convenyent.

"Be it remembrid that evermore at the begynnyng of grace the covertour of brede shalbe avoyded and take away, . . ."

The first course was at length in order, but rightly to appreciate its ceremonious advent, it is necessary again to follow the Sewer, who, as we have seen, left for the chief serving-table, or the dresser, after his arming at the ewery. His walk to the dresser took him through the Hall, and the instant he entered it, the Usher of the Hall, who had to be ". . . a man of tall stature and stronge voice . . ." cried out — "*Gentlemen and Yeomen, waite on the Sewer.* . . ."[27] Arrived at the dresser, the Sewer met there the Clerk of Kitchen, who had to be right at hand to attend him; the Sewer there called out for his lordship's first course, and gave ". . . sayes to the clarke of the kittchine, and the master cooke, of everie dishe that is servede to the lordes messe . . .";[28] the procession then started with the first

[26] Inventory of effects, etc., *Archaeologia*, XXI, 247 *et seq.*

[27] Brathwait, 22.

[28] Breviate, 324.

course for the Great Chamber, headed by the Yeoman Usher of the Hall, who again called out as the service passed through the Hall "*Roome for the Sewer,*" whereupon all in the Hall removed their hats. It was customary in most households for the chief officers in the establishment to walk in this procession, each bearing his dish to the lord's table.[29]

The first course thus "countenanced" by the Sewer to his Grace's board, the Carver gave an assay to the Sewer and to each man carrying a dish, of the food in his dish, all standing, after which the Carver took his appointed place at table "there to staye, all dynner tyme, to carve and serve in that place at his discretion."[30] The Sewer was the Carver's assistant, remaining right at the former's side, except while countenancing the second course in its turn, all the ceremonial of which was the same as that used for the first course, except that the assays were received kneeling.[31]

". . . thenne the karver, havyng his napkyn at all tymes uppon his left hand, and the kervyng knyfe in his right hande, and he shall take uppon the poynte of his knyf iiij trenchours, and so cowche them iustely before the principall, iij lying iustely to-geder, ij under, and one uppon, and the fowerth before, iustely for to lay uppon salte. (i.e. to put salt on — ed. Furnivall.) and the next, lay iij trenchours; and soo iij or ij after her degree. therto the botler most be redy with sponys and napkyns, that ther as the trenchours be cowched, lay the spone and the napkyn therto, and soo thorowe the borde.

"Thenne the kerver shall take into his hande on or ij loves, and bere hem to the syde-tabill ende, and ther pare hem quarter on first, and bring hym hole to-geder, and cowche ij of the beste before the sovrayne, and to others by ij or on after ther degree.

"Thenne the kerver or sewer most asserve every disshe in his degre, after order and course of servise as folowith: first mustard and brawne, swete wyne shewed therto. (i.e. served with it.)

Potage.

"Befe and moton, swan or gese. grete pies, capon or fesaunt; leche or fretours. Thenne yef potage be chaungeabill after

[29] Brathwait, 22. Breviate, 317. *Northumberland Household Book*, 420.
[30] Brathwait, 22.
[31] Breviate, 324.

tyme and season of the yere as fallith, as here is rehercid: by example, ffor befe and moton ye shall take

Pastelles or chynys of porke,
or els tonge of befe,
or tonge of the harte powderd;
Befe stewed,
chekyns boylyd, and bacon.

"Thenne ayenste the secunde cours, be redy, and come in-to the place. the kerver muste avoyde and take uppe the service of the first cours, — begynnyng at the lowest mete first, — and all the broke cromys, bonys, & trenchours, before the secunde cours and servise be served. Thenne the second cours shall be served in manner and fourme as ensample therof hereafter folowyng:

Potage. pigge	lamme stewed
Cony	Kidde rosted
Crane	Veneson rosted
heronsewe	heronsewe
betoure	betoure
Egrete	pigeons
Corlewe	Rabbetts
wodecok	a bake mete
Pert[r]igge	
Plover	Stokke-dovys stewed
Snytys	cony malard
quayles	telys wodecok
ffretours	grete byrdys
leche	

"After the seconde cours served, kerved, and spente, hit must be sene, cuppys to be fillid, trenchours to be voyded. thenne by goode avysment the tabill muste be take uppe in the maner as folowith: — first, when tyme foloweth (alloweth?), the panter or boteler must gader uppe the sponys; after that done by leyser, the sewer or carver shall be-gynne at the loweste ende, and in order take uppe the lowest messe; after the syde-tabill be avoyded and take uppe, and thenne to procede to the Principall tabill, and ther honestly and clenly avoyde and withdrawe all the servise of the high table. ther-to the kerver muste be redy, and redely have a voyder to gader in all the broke brede, trenchours, cromys lying upon the tabill; levyng none

other thyng save the salte-seler, hole brede (yf any be lefte), and cuppys.

"After this done by goode delyberacion and avysement, the kerver shall take the servise of the principall messe in order and rule, begynnynge at the lowest, and so procede in rule unto the laste, and theruppon the kerver to have redy a voyder, and to avoyde all maner trenchours [&] broke brede in a-nother clene disshe voyder, and cromys, which with the kervyng-knyf shall be avoyded from the tabill, and thus to procede unto the tabill be voyded. Thenne the kerver shall goo unto the cuppebord, and redresse and ordeyne wafers in to towayles of raynes or fyne napkyns which moste be cowched fayre and honestly uppon the tabill, and thenne serve the principall messe first, and so thorowe the tabill. j or ij yf hit so requere: therto moste be servid swete wyne and in feriall (holiday) tyme serve chese shraped with sugur and sauge-levis (sage-leaves) or ellis that hit be faire kervid hole, or frute as the yere yeveth, strawberys, cherys, perys, appulis; and in winters, wardens, costardys roste, rosted on fisshe-dayes with blanche pouder, and so serve hit forth Thenne aftur wafers and frute spended, all maner thinge shalbe take uppe and avoyded, except the principall salt-seler, hole brede, and kervynge-knyves, the which shalbe redressed in maner and fourme as they were first sette on the table; the which, principall servitours of the pantre or botery, havyng his towaile, shall take uppe, and bere hit into his office in like wyse as he first brought hit unto the Tabill.

"Thenne the principall servitours, as kerver and sewer, moste have redy a longe towaile applyed dowble, to be cowched uppon the principall ende of the table; and that towell must be iustely drawen thorowe the tabill unto the lower ende, and ij servitours to awayte theruppon that hit be iustely cowched and sprad. after that done, ther muste be ordeyned basyns, and ewers with water hote or colde as tyme of the yere requerith, and to be sette uppon the tabill, and to stonde unto the grace be saide; and incontynent after grace seide, the servitours to be redy to awayte and attende to yeve water, first to the principall messe, and after that to the seconde, incontynent after this done, the towayle and tabill-clothis most be drawen, cowched, and sprad, and so by litill space taken uppe in the myddis of the tabill, and so to be delyvered to the officer of pantery or botery.

"Thenne uprysyng, servitours muste attende to avoyde tabills, trestellis, formys and stoyls, and to redresse bankers and quyssyons. then the boteler shall avoyde the cupborde, begynnyng at the lowest, procede in rule to the hieste, and bere hit in-to his office. Thenne after mete, hit most be awayted and well entended by servitours yf drinke be asked. and yf ther be knyght or lady or grete gentil-woman, they shall be servid uppon kne with brede and wyne." [32]

The Gentleman Usher, throughout the repast was alert to its correct progress; "Hee is to take his place for dinner and supper at the bordes ende, the better to see through the whole table, the behaviour of all the servanntes, and where any wants bee, to have them supplied, and that there bee not talkinge, neather any discourse amongst them, but to bee quiette while meales bee donne, for loud talke at that tyme, and in that place, in all houses of order, is accompted barbarus and rusticall, and therefore by them to bee especiallie avoided and looked into." [33]

Some of the things which engaged the attention of a watchful Usher during dinner, are described in the directions for service which were observed in the household of Lord Fairfax, and probably in scores of other noble houses, a part of which directions, in the words of an old servant of that house are as follows:

"If one Servant have occasion to speak to another about Service att the Table, let him whisper, for noyse is uncivil.

"If any Servant have occasion to go forthe of the Chamber for any thing, let him make haste, and see that no more than towe be absent. And for prevention of Errands, let all Sawces be ready at the Door, for even one messe of Mustard will take a Man's attendance from the Table; but least any thing happen unexpected, let the Boy stand within the Chamber Door for Errands.

"And see that your Water and Voyder be redy soe soon as Meate is served and sett on the Table without. Have a good eye to the Board for empty Dishes and the placing of others, and let not the Board be unfurnished.

"Let no man fill Beere or Wine but the Cup-board Keeper, who must make choice of his Glasses or Cups for the Company, and not to serve them hand over heade. He must also know

[32] "FFor to serve a lord," in *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, Part 3, 366 *et seq.* Early English Text Society, J. Furnivall, ed.

[33] Breviate, 325.

which be for Beere and which for Wine; for it were a foul thing to mix them together." And finally the oft repeated injunction admonishing silence — "for it is the greatest part of Civility." [34] With this last precept should be set down in conclusion a note of the Usher's orders to the servants not to harken to any table-talk, a delinquency on their part which often enough, probably called for his correction. Every Gentleman Usher was supposed ". . . to give notice to all wayters, that they give noe eare to table taulke, for that withdraweth the eie and minde from respecte of theire service, for the eye muste bee still movinge about the sercuite of the table, that if any wanntes bee, thay maye with speede bee suppliede." [35]

Probably most households, as did the establishment of Edward, Earl of Derby, helped the Gentleman Usher to get effective waiter service, by demanding a preliminary training. His Grace ordered ". . . that no gent. comyng to my L. service shall wayte at the table before my L. gyve conc. and no yoman shall wayte till he have bene in the house one yeare and moore at my L. his pleasure." [36]

It remains to be said concerning the dinner service on ordinary occasions in the Great Chamber, that while it was in progress, the Yeoman Usher took his stand at the door of the Chamber, to see to it that none gained admittance to the room but those who had the right to enter.[37]

Dinner in the Hall was ordinarily as pompously conducted, in proportion, as it was in the Great Chamber. Here, however, all the deference was paid to the Officers of the Household, at the first table, the entire service being under command of the Yeoman Usher of the Hall. As has been observed the Yeoman attended personally to dressing the Officer's board and "When the Earles table and gentlewomen are served, the Vsher with a lowde voice is to saye: *To the dresser gentlemens men, for my Lords cheefe Officers.*" [38] His further functions are best set forth by the contemporary, Brathwait: "Meate being placed on the tables, the Vsher with a lowde voyce is to call, *Pantler*, who

[34] *Northumberland Household Book*, 423-424.
[35] Breviate, 323.
[36] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 8.
[37] Breviate, 332-333.
[38] Brathwait, 23-24.

therat is to come and furnish the bordes with breade. Afterwards he is to call, *Butler*, and then he is to set beere on the tables, and so often as he shall call either of them in meale times, they must come to bring bread or beere that wanteth. When the second course is served to the Earles table and to the gentlewomen, then is the Vsher to bring the Officers second course and to send for such reward as is allowed to them that sitt at their table, or to strangers, or other bordes." [39]

"The Yeomen and Groomes having dined or supped, the Vsher is to call, *Amner* (Almoner) *take away*, which being done the Yeomen and Groomes are to rise and come and doe reverence to the cheefe Officers. When they have dined and thancks given to God, their meate taken of the table by their owne men, the Vsher is to call *Ewer*, who is to come and serve the Officers with water, the Vsher holding the Towel." [40] Hereupon the rest of the dinners followed in their proper order, as described above.

Intricate as were all the arrangements for service in the Great Chamber and the Hall as just described, added details always augmented their solemn pompousness when guests, friends or strangers came to sojourn at a nobleman's castle. This was exceedingly frequent, so common, in fact that it might have been truer to the ancient mode of life whose description is in order here, had the customs observed for entertainment been explained as the ordinary day's order of events.

Hospitality was constantly and generously practiced, as just

[39] In most household accounts there was ordinarily one group of accounts under the caption "Gifts and Rewards" which were varying sums of money, generally small, and which might include payments to some of the household servants by guests in the house. Thus in the household accounts of Richard Bertie, March of 1850 — "In rewarde to the servants in Mestress Sissells house," 6s:8d. *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 463. This might have been the meaning of "reward" as used by Brathwait. Another meaning, however, seems more probable. The "Boke of Curtasye" dated by Mr. Furnivall c. 1430-1440, portraying the duties of the Marshal of the Hall, says —

> "When brede fayles at borde aboute,
> The marshalle gares sett with-outen doute
> More brede, that calde is a rewarde,
> Se shalle hit be preuet be-fore stuadre." — p. 312.

The Boke of Curtasye, in Manners and Meals in Olden Time, Ed. by Furnivall for the Early English Text Society.

[40] Brathwait, p. 24.

observed, and usually on a scale, furthermore, whose generous proportions make a modern wonder. The 5th Earl of Northumberland made yearly allowances for guests, and the costs were regarded as an integral part of his household expense budget; in 1512, computing his probable accounts for 1512-1513, he calculated on entertaining fifty-seven strangers, on the average, daily throughout the year, and he rated the cost at two and one-half pence per man each day.

Almost as a matter of course, folks went in and out of these great houses, tarrying, perhaps, for a single meal, or even lighter refreshment, or stopping for a protracted sojourn. The country establishments of the Earls of Derby were constantly the resort of guests of all degrees, the Steward's weekly journal being largely given over to an enumeration of visitors, with note of their advent and departure; the following, selected at random, are all characteristic entries: June 10th-16th, 1586.—"On Sondaye Mr. Bradshaw came to dyner, Mr. Rec. (i.e. Receiver) Mr. Carter, Mr. Caldewell, came, and Mr. Leigh pretched; on Monday, all my L. Cownsell came, and Mr. Caldewell pretched, Mr. Cutebert Halsoll and his wiffe, Mr. Skillycorne came, Mr Henry Stanley senio. & Mr. Henry Stanley Jvnio. Mr To. Preston, & Mr. Christofer Preston came; on Tvesday my L. Bushoppe of Chester & Mr. Salesbury came; on Wednesday more strandgers there all daye; on Thursdaye they went all awayes save my L. busshoppe who dep'ted vpon fryday: and this weke was Whitson Weke."

Again August 12th-19th, 1587,—"On Sonday Mr Rec. came, Sr. Ryc. Mollynex, Mr Petter Leigh, Mr Tildesley, & many more at dyner, yong Mr Halsall and Mrs Dorothy Stanley came; on Monday ij unkles of Mr Salusburyes came, & alsoe yong Mr Trayfforth & Mr Worseley; on Tvesday my L. rode into Wirrall, Mr Salusbury & his wiffe to Sefton, on wch. daye all strandgers went away; my L. Strange's little doughter stayed, on Thursday Mr Salesbury came again; on Friday Mr Halsall and Mrs. Dorothie came againe; & on Saturday my L. retorned home."[41] Some of these people were relatives of the Stanley family, but the majority were "strangers."

Similar notes from like accounts kept for the Willoughbys at

[41] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 30-31, 35-36.

Wallaton bear eloquent testimony to their generous entertainment of guests. During the year 1587-1588, the clerk frequently notes — "This weke howshold only, with comers and goers." But notable folk dropped in upon them from time to time, and such were always recorded with more flourish — "July 1 — This weeke Mr. Percyvall Wyllughby and Mr George Pudsie and his sonne came on Monday at nighte; Mr George Pudsie and his sonne went awaye on Thursday morning, and Mr. Percy stayed all the week. And this weeke on Wednesday Sir Thomas Mannours dyned at the Chauntrey with other comers and goers."

Often the Earl of Rutland with his Countess and, perchance, a goodly retinue visited at Wallaton — "The xj day of November, being Saterday in Lenton Fayre tyme, the Earle of Rutland and the Cowntysse, Sir Thomas Manners and his Lady, Sir Gervas Clyfton and his Ladie, Sir Anthony Strellery and his Ladie with dyvers other gentlemen of six score persons dyned." In August of 1599 again, the earl with many other gentlemen "came to denner with LXX persones attendinge." Or perhaps it was just a friendly neighborhood call — August 12th, 1599 — "Many nigbores that came to see my mistress dyned here teis daye." or August 13th — "XXX wyves of Wallaton that came to see my mistress dyned hear this day." [42]

At festival times, entertainment frequently assumed tremendous proportions. For Christmas in 1508, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, at his residence of Thornburg, feasted two hundred and ninety-four people at dinner and supper, of whom one hundred and eighty-two at dinner, and one hundred and seventy-six at supper were "strangers." On January 6th, at the Feast of the Epiphany of the following year, this same nobleman entertained five hundred and nineteen people at dinner and four hundred at supper, the total number of strangers at the first repast being three hundred and nineteen, and at supper two hundred and seventy-nine.[43]

On both of these occasions the feasters made up a cosmopolitan assemblage, including members of the ducal household, lords and knights, bailiffs, tenants, both of the duke and of

[42] *MSS. of Lord Middleton*, 454, 461, 462, etc.

[43] Household Accounts, *Archaeologia*, XXV, 319 *et seq.*

his retainers, religious men — chaplains and abbots, musicians and waits, who probably amused the throng, together with a great number unnamed, so many "from the town" and so many "from the country."

The truly delightful and spontaneous manner in which entertainment might be offered, is displayed in a contemporary narrative by one of three men, who, in August of 1634, made a survey of twenty-six counties, in a seven weeks' journey begun at Norwich. They were a "Captaine, a Lieutennant, and an Ancient" of the military company of Norwich, and in the course of their peregrinations they fetched up at Naworth Castle, one of the great residences of Lord William Howard, of border fame.

Unfortunately, at their arrival, Lord William was not at home, so after tarrying a brief while, the three repaired to the ancient city of Carlisle; thither a servant of his Grace's was later dispatched, to invite them to dinner at Corby Castle, where Lord Howard was then sojourning; highly honoured, the flattering offer was at once accepted, and the story of their visit follows, as it was afterward set down by one of them: ". . . The next day wee went thither, and were by that generous brave Lord curteously and nobly entertayn'd, and sorry, he sayd, he was, that hee was not at Naworth to give us then the like. His Lordship's commaunds made us to transgresse good manners, for neither would he suffer us to speak uncover'd, nor to stand up (although our duty requir'd another posture) but plac'd us by his Lordship himselfe to discourse with him untill dinner time.

"Anon appear'd a grave and vertuous matron, his Honorable Lady, who told us, indeed we were heartily welcome, and whilst our Ancient and my selfe address'd our selves to satisfy his Lordship in such occurrences of Norfolke as he pleas't to aske, and desir'd to know, wee left our modest Captaine to relate to his noble Lady what she desir'd. These noble twaine (as it pleas'd themselves to tell us themselves) could nott make above 25 yeares both togeather, when first they were marry'd, that now can make above 140 yeares, and are very hearty, well, and merry, and long may they continue soe, for soe have they all iust cause to pray, that live neere them, for their hospitality and fre enter-

tainment, agrees with their generous and noble extraction, and their yeeres retaines the memory of their honorable predecessors' bountifull house keeping.

"Amongst other dishes that came then to his Lordship's table, one there was serv'd in at the second course, which was not usuall, a live roe; and as there was great store of venison, soe was there plenty of wine, and as freely these two noble persons commaunded it to be filled. I verily thinke his Honor may commaund venison there as our southerne gentlemen doe sheep heere, for I heard his Lordship say that his sonnes had then kill'd out of his owne parkes 120 buckes of this season. Soone after dinner we desir'd to take our leaves, and to that end wee presented our selves, which his Lordship courteously graunted, after wee had told him our designes, and commaunded one of his gentlemen to accompany us over those dangerous fells, and to be our guide to Graystoke Castle, his noble nephew's, and himselfe vouchsaf'd to bring us through his gardens and walkes to the river side, and there committed us to a noble gentleman his sonne to passe in a boat with us over the said river. . ." [44]

The gossipy interlude played by hosts and guests, offers one explanation for the universal custom of lavish hospitality observed by all noblemen in those days. For most people, life was very isolated, travelling precarious and costly — naturally then, how welcome were those who brought in news of the outside world — "occurrences at Norfolke"! Furthermore, it must be remembered that entertainment offered an opportunity for display; it exalted the prestige of a house; both were desiderata highly worth while; and finally, a weighty consideration, all the noblemen still had numerous important relations with many people in the adjacent country-side, due to their old feudal status; they were constantly besought on business by this one or that, and common respectability, no doubt, frequently urged hospitality upon them. The 5th Earl of Northumberland was compelled to retain always the services of one of his household council, even when he kept his so-called "secret-house" during accounting times, ". . . for Aunswering ande Riddyng of Causis whenne Suters cumeth to my Lorde." [45] Probably these

[44] *The Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle,* 480-490.

[45] *Northumberland Household Book,* 304.

"suters" frequently came from a distance, or were good tenants — in any case deserving of some entertainment.

Before turning next to a description of what might be called the mechanics of hospitality, one other consideration is in order concerning it. Whatever its character, plain or sumptuous, crowded or otherwise, there was nothing slip-shod about the conduct of entertainment anywhere; in fact, from the accountant's side of the picture, it was strictly a business proposition, the amusement or satisfaction to a host growing actually insignificant compared with the looming magnitude of the expense involved. It was a very costly luxury, and strictness regarding accounts was but a necessary precaution to control it.

The 5th Earl of Northumberland commanded his brevement clerks to record by name every stranger who came to the house.[46] Every day his Clerk of the Kitchen had to ". . . cast up . . . the Chequyrroll ande the Straungeours ande deduct the Vacauntes to see how th' Expenses of the Brevements woll wey togeder ande whanne they finde a Deffawt too refforme it furthwith ande shew the said Officers there Deffawtts in there mysbrevynge if they be soo founde."[47] The earl's regulation for obtaining this accounting is too spectacular to omit; it follows verbatim — a leisurely, windy globe-circuit to achieve a simple problem in arithmetic:

> "THE FOURM OF A DRAUGHT How it schal be for TOTALLING of the NOUMBRE of the Chequirroil with the Noumbre of the Straungers the Vacants Deducted For a Mouneth When they caste up the Parsonnes at the Mounthes end.

"FIRSTE To caste ovir the Parsonnes of the Chequirroill Double every Etting Daie Ande upon the Fasting Daies but Single the Parsons Ande than to Deducte all the Parsons that be Vacante of the Chequirroill in the saide Mouneth Ande make that the Nombre of the Chequirroill The Parsons that ar Vacant Deducted.

"ITEM Than to caste ovir all your Straungers in the saide Mouneth.

[46] *Northumberland Household Book*, 115.
[47] *Ibid.*, 117.

"ITEM Than to caste ovir all your Vacantes of the Parsonnes of the Chequirroill wanting in the saide Mouneth.

"ANDE than to caste the Fyrste Noumbre in the whiche the Vacants of the Personnes of your Chequirroil are deducted and laye to theim your Straungers daily in the saide Mouneth to the said Noumber Ande than to take half of it uppon the Fasting Daie and Double the Etting Daye And than to make the Nombre of the same." [48]

Finally to guarantee against any negligent accounting, his Grace ruled that breving be done twice a day ". . . Furst Tyme incontinent aftir the Dynner Ande the Second Tyme at Aftur Supper when Lyverys is servid at highe Tymes as Principal Feests. . . And at any outher tymes when ther is any great Repaire of Straungers in the Hous Bicause the Officers shalle not forget for longe beering of it in their mynds." [49]

While not affecting guests exactly, ordinances established both by the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Derby, reflect the desire of those noblemen to keep their establishments free from useless hangers-on. In 1469 Clarence ruled — "ITEM, That noe person of the courte, of what degree or condition he be, leve behynd hym, when he departeth oute of the courte, neither man, childe, horse, grayhoundes, ne other houndes to the seid Dukes charge, uppon peyne of losinge a weeke's wages." [50]

Similarly, in 1568, Edward, 3rd Earl of Derby instituted — "It'm that there shall not be anie yoman or other not in the Chekerolle that shall tarie to burthen my L. his house, but one daye or meale at one tyme." [51]

Astute old Burghley expressed himself most clearly to his son on this important side of domestic life — "And touching the guiding of thy house let thy hospitality be moderate & according to the means of thy estate, rather plentifull than sparing, but not costly. For I never knew any man grow poor by keeping an orderly table. But some consume themselves through their secret vices, and their hospitality bears the blame. But banish swinish drunkards out of thine house, which is a vice imparing

[48] *Northumberland Household Book*, 290-291.
[49] *Ibid.*, 164.
[50] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 93.
[51] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 9.

health, consuming much & makes no shew. I never heard praise ascribed to the drunkard, but [for] well-bearing [of] his drink; which is a better commendation for a brewers horse or a drayman, than for either a gentleman, or [a] serving man."[52]

That wise old nobleman lived up to his advices too. A contemporary says of his hospitality — "When his Lordship was able to sit abroad he kept an honourable table, for noblemen and others to resort [to]. But when age and infirmity grew upon him he was forced to keep his chamber: where he was void neither of company nor meat. Having as many of his friends and children [to dine with, and keep him company there] as before, he had strangers in his parlor. His diet being then as chargable weekly, as when he came abroad. His Lordships hall was ever well furnished with men, [and as well] served with meat, and kept in good order. For his steward kept a standing table for gentlemen, besides two other long tables [many times twice set] One for the clerk of the kitchen and the other Yeomen."[53]

In conclusion now, some of the management details connected with the entertainment of guests in the household. In a well-ordered establishment, if it were known that guests were expected, entertainment for them began really with the cordial reception designed to put them at their ease at their very advent. Lord Fairfax, for example, commanded "That all the Servants be redy upon the Terras at such tymes as the Strangers do come, to attend their alightinge."[54] This nobleman was but one of the scores probably whose politeness to strangers began at the castle gates.

At meal times strangers were carefully sorted and ushered to table, where, as with all in the household, their places were determined by their social status. If guests chanced to be of the nobility, they dined with the lord of the household, at his board, while those of inferior degree were placed at the Knight's table in the Great Chamber, or with the officers in the Hall, and so on, as might be. If there were a great press of guests, as, for example, during holiday season, numerous tables would be set

[52] Advice to his son. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 47-48.

[53] Anon. Biography in Peck, *op. cit.*, 22 *et seq.*

[54] *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 421.

up in the Great Chamber and the Hall, each presided over by some officer of the household, who properly represented the establishment at his board. There were occasions when each of the officers had his table in the Hall.[55]

In the Great Chamber, the Gentleman Usher had the delicate and conceivably awkward and troublesome task of arranging the seating at table. He ". . . is to have speciall respecte howe to place all such the beste sorte of stranngers, at the lordes table, least by wronnging any in such sorte, discontentment maye growe, and if hee doubt in his owne knowledge, hee is to take the opinion of the lorde, for the better avoidinge any such wronng. . ." [56]

All "above salt" at the lord's board end, had the special consideration of the Carver and Sewer, who, unless directly ordered by his Grace or her ladyship, were to pay no attention to any of the benighted crew below the condimental line of demarkation! [57] Above or below the salt! An expression replete with significance, especially for the Gentleman Usher. Every phase of that functionary's activities "above stairs" were important, however, and especially so, his duties in the Great Chamber, where the pressure upon him may be sensed as well from what has been noted already, as from the following additional contemporary observations concerning the urgent need for a well-conducted service in that place — "Hee (the Gentleman Usher) is to see the greate chamber bee fynne and neatlie kepte, and that there wannte noe necessarie utencies therein, and to commannde the yeomen ushers of the greate chamber, to execute theire derections whatsoever, for theire lordes service, to bee donne with speede, for in that place there muste bee noe delaye, because it is the place of state, where the lorde keepeth his presence, and in the ieyes of all the best sorte of stranngers bee there lookers on; that what faulte beeinge there committed, bee never so littell, sheweth more than in any place ells wheresoever, and therefore a special respecte, care and dilligens, is to bee had therein, for that place before all others is the cheefe and principall staite in the house, for service there not dewlie and comlie

[55] Brathwait, 21.
[56] Breviate, 325.
[57] Brathwait, 321-322.

donne, disgraceth all the rest in any place ells, as littell woorth, what chardge of entertaynement soever bee bistowede, wherefore the gentlemen ushers is to take a special care herein for theire creddite sake and honnor of that place."[58]

Richard Brathwait was surely correct when he closed his remarks about this office with saying — ". . . onely this will I adde, that they are to be well countenanced, bothe by the Earle and his Ladye, otherwise their appointments will be little regarded; also in respect that (if rightly they use their place) it will be founde not so pleasant as painefull vnto them."[59]

It is only fair to noblemen, however, to presume that proper "countenancing" was a most difficult task, a flaw in the accomplishing of which might result very seriously for all concerned. The 9th Earl of Northumberland, whose conjugal relations, to be sure, weren't what they might have been, warned his son and heir in the following uncomfortable vein — "Gripe into yowr hands what poore soe ever yow will of governement, yett will there be certain persons about yowr wyffe, that yow will never reduce; — a gentleman ushier, her tailor, and her woman; for they will ever talke, and ever be unreasonable."[60]

There were other exigencies too, unpleasant, possibly dangerous, or perhaps simply diverting. Referring again to Chapman's play, the Gentleman Usher, already quoted: part of the plot turns upon Prince Vincentio and his pal, Lord Strozza, who are scheming to promote the Prince's difficult court-ship of Earl Lasso's pretty daughter, Margaret. Circumstances seem to make the prospect of success very doubtful, but Strozza says to the Prince —

> Stro. Despaire not: there are meanes enow for you;
> Suborne some servant of some good respect
> Thats neere your choice, who, though she needs no wooing,
> May yet imagine you are to begin
> Your strange yong love sute, and so speake for you,
> Beare your kind letters, and get safe accesse.
> All which, when he shall do, you neede not feare
> His trustie secrecie, because he dares not
> Reveale escapes whereof himselfe is author;
> Whom you may best attempt she must reveale;

[58] Breviate, 322.
[59] Brathwait, 12.
[60] Advices to his son, *Archaeologia*, XXVII, 337.

> For if she already loves you, she already knows,
> And in an instant can resolve you that.

and the Prince, forthwith seizing his first opportunity to put this advice into effect presently addresses Margaret thus, —

> Vin. You needes must presently devise
> What person, trusted chiefley with your guard,
> You thinke is aptest for me to corrupt,
> In making him a meane for our safe meeting.

and Margaret replies, right off-hand, completely sure of herself —

> Mar. My fathers usher, none so fit,
> If you can worke him well: and so farewell,''

and surely enough, Bassiolo it was, who really furthered the suit of the young lovers, though in a manner both cowardly and ungracious.

But to return to our theme — Another custom altered most pleasantly the ordinary manner of dining in the castle when guests were about. Brathwait says — "At great feasts, or in time of great straingers, when it is time for the Ewer to cover the table for the Earle; (the Trumpetter) . . . is to sounde to give warning, and the drumme to play till the Ewer be readie to goe up with the service, and then to give place to the Musitians, who are to play . . . upon Shagbutte, Cornetts, Shalmes, and such other instruments going with winde. (and) In meale times to play upon Violls, Violins, or other broken musicke." [61] Surely a delightful addition to the whole stately ceremonial! Against this need for music in time of "great strangers," much might be said; preparedness, was of course, part of the day's order; thus the Earl of Rutland paid on April 9th, 1541 "to Richard Pyke for corde for the drumme and skynnes for the hede of the drumme agaynst the Duke of Norfolke's comynge to Belvoire." 3s:4d., and again, "Item, to the regall make, for Nottingham for bryngyng a paire of regalles agaynst my Lorde's Grace Duke of Norfolke comyng, 12d." [62]

For guests of a lesser degree, or on the occasion of a festival, the service in the Great Hall was also enriched. A Marshal or Marshals of the Hall, if such honourable positions were not ordinarily filled by one or two of the lord's chief officers, would

[61] Brathwait, 44.

[63] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 309, 313, etc.

surely be elected to office for the time being, they to have during all the ceremonies, entire charge and running of the Hall. Brathwait well describes the duties of this office: "If the Earle be to receive and entertaine the Kinges Majestie, Queene, or our Lord the Prince, for that time he is to make choice of such a gentleman, either of his ordinarie household or of his Retainers, as his Lordship shall thincke fittest to supply that place, who should be a man well experienced, courteous, and well spoken; he is to carry in his hand a white rodd, and to appoint the Yeomen Vshers to place all strangers according to their degrees, as he shall direct them. He must be allowed out of the household offices to have such meate, breade, and beere, as he will send unto them for: For it is not sufficient that the Kinges Majestie and such Nobles as attend be roially feasted and entertained, if Servingmen and such meaner personages be not liberally and bowntifully served; nor shall the feast carry any great fame, if the Hall and such places wherin Servingmen and their like, are be streighted and scanted. Therfore the Marshall and the Yeomen Ushers should be men that with francke and kinde speeches can grace the service." [63]

The Yeoman Usher of the Hall furnished the Marshals with their white staves, which were always in the latter's hands when they were on duty in the Hall, ". . . but if they goe forth, they are to leave them with the Porter till they returne." [64] As a requital for this little service on the part of the Yeoman Usher, the Officers Marshal gave him each year ". . . a new yeares gift, which is proper to him selfe." [65]

Such were the more important features of the daily service in the Great Chamber and Hall in Tudor times. The description is fragmentary, but contemporaries, well schooled in the matter they discussed, have supplied the details used, and their old narratives suffice, after all, to convey no mean impression of the subject in which they were so deeply interested.

[63] Brathwait, 20.
[64] *Ibid.*, 25.
[65] *Ibid.*, 25.

CHAPTER VIII

WORSHIP AND CHARITY IN THE HOUSEHOLD

"Under the shadow of Thy wings I flie for refuge O Almightie God of power and glorie, before whom Hell is naked and destruction has no covering — before whom Angells hide their faces and the pillars of Heaven shake, who inhabitest Eternity, and who had no beginning and never shall have end, who is the beginning and end of all things, 'Maker of Heaven and Earth'."

"We may go from East to West, from North to South; we may ransack all ages from one to another, and whever we find MAN we also find a Religion and God acknowledged by sacrifices and prayers, although men have diversely conceived of God according to their own fancies and imaginations."

"Some tell us that the true religion is nothing else but charity, which is the performing of a man's duty toward his neighbor. And men, if they durst, would also tell us that religion is but an instrument of civil government. We say that religion cannot exist without charity, yet that charitie is not the mark whereby to discern the true religion, but to discern who is religious."

— *From The Private Devotions of James, Seventh Earl of Derby.*

Before the religious reform carried its austere practices into effect in England, the spiritual side of the life in a great household was a phase of domestic existence most elaborately and beautifully ministered unto. Self-sufficing in so many respects, these noble establishments maintained a complete equipment for amply conducting the intricate and varied ritualistic services of the old church.

In the early sixteenth century the 5th Earl of Northumberland supported eleven priests in his household; they were the Chapel-Dean, Surveyor, Secretary, Almoner, the Sub-Dean, who ordered the choir daily in Chapel, his Grace's Riding Chaplain,[1] a Chaplain attending daily upon the earl's eldest son and heir, the Clerk of the Closet, the Master of Grammar, the Gospeller, and lastly, the Lady Mass Priest. From the very nature of their

[1] *I.e.*, to accompany the earl on a journey, etc.

official positions, various of these men were often otherwise occupied than with spiritual affairs. However, the rule was laid down, that while this group of servitors was relieved from daily attendance, and from waiting in the Great Chamber upon the earl, because of their duties of office, they did have to be on hand at service times and at meals.[2]

In addition to his clerics, the earl had a practiced choir concerning whose efficiency he was very solicitous. In 1512 it was composed of fifteen persons — six children and nine men, basses, tenors and countertenors,[3] and then cost Northumberland £35: 15s. annually, in wages.[4] Later, however, when it was demonstrated that the four countertenors could not supply all the places for those voices which the household services required, two additional singers were at once hired.[5]

Careful orders were formulated for these servants, describing the allotment of their places in the conduct of the different religious exercises. Thus the four priests were responsible for singing Mass each day; the Sub-Dean officiated at High Mass at "double feasts" and was to stand ready ". . . to ease outher Preistis of Masse when he seith they shall nede." His three fellows apportioned among themselves the duties of leadership at High and Lady Mass each week, the officiator at the Lady Mass serving as Gospellor the same week at High Mass.[6]

For the services at Matins, Mass and Even-song the principals in the Chapel were regularly ordered after this wise, — on the "Dean's side," that functionary himself, with the Sub-dean, then a bass, a tenor and three countertenors, while on the "second side" were ranged, first the Lady Mass priest, then, in order, the Gospeller, a bass, two countertenors, a tenor, a countertenor and a tenor. The choir Rectors at these services were changed throughout the week, probably to suit the exigencies of the antiphonal music sung or to avoid monotony; on Monday and Tuesday basses stood Rectors on either side; on Wednesday two countertenors occupied the positions, while Thursday, Fri-

[2] *Northumberland Household Book*, 322-323.

[3] *Ibid.*, 44. The highest male voice, usually a falsetto.

[4] *Ibid.*, 27.

[5] *Ibid.*, 367. (There was an addition to the basses also; compare 40-41 and 373-374.

[6] *Ibid.*, 376.

day and Saturday, leadership was assumed by a countertenor and a tenor in alternation.[7]

The Chapel stations as arranged for the Lady Mass during the week stood usually, three countertenors, a tenor and a bass, varied as to position on different days, except on Friday, or when his Grace was present for the service, at which times the whole Chapel assisted.[8]

The basses "set" the choir each day, serving turn for turn, while in like manner those of the Chapel group who were skilled at the "organs," turn and turn about, took charge of those instruments for a week at a time.[9]

Besides these full daily services, there were all the special festivals and Holy-days more particularly observed. Among these, some sixteen feasts stand out, marked by celebrations on the eve as well as on the day, — Michaelmas, Allhallows, Christmas, New Years, Twelfth Night, Candlemas, Shrove Tuesday, Lady Day, "Tenable Wednesday" (a corruption of "Tenebrae"), Easter, Ascension Eve, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi, Trinity Sunday, Midsummer Eve, and Lammas.[10] Twenty-four people regularly took part in the service of these festivals; this included the full choir under four Rectors choir.[11]

Each of these feasts saw every participant in freshly laundered surplice and alb, while their advent likewise marked the terms of the altar-cloths, which, as well, were put through their ablutions preparatory to the celebrations. This constituted the ". . . Holl WESHING of all mannar of LYNNON belonging my Lordes Chapell for an Holl Yere . . ." and such tidiness cost his Grace full 17s:4d. per annum![12]

While certain of these Holy-days, the so-called "principall feasts," were accompanied with merriment and laden board (jovial contingents if scarcely religious), an integral part of the sacred observance of Lent was its prescribed menu, expressly provided in all the great households, Catholic and Protestant alike. Northumberland especially purchased against that grey

[7] *Northumberland Household Book*, 367, 370.
[8] *Ibid.*, 368-369.
[9] *Ibid.*, 369, 373-374.
[10] *Ibid.*, 242-244.
[11] *Ibid.*, 198.
[12] *Northumberland Household Book*, 242 *et seq.*

season, stock-fish, white and red herring, sprats, salt salmon, sturgeon, eels, figs and great raisins, all in sufficient quantities to last from Shrove Tide until Easter.[13] In 1576, Lord North's Lenten "stuff" laid in at Sturbridge Fair, consisted of "3 Barells of Whight herring iijli.iijs.vjd. ij Cades of Redd herring xxs. ij Cades of Spratts iijs.viijd. xx Salt eels xxvjs.viijd. a barrell of Salt Salmon iiijli.xiijs.iiijd."[14] Edward, Earl of Derby, likewise paid £77:8s:3d., in 1561, for a similar provision also purveyed "at Sturbrug ffeare and in the countrey."[15]

Food of this sort was not the only provision used in the households during Lent, nor were the same diet regulations set for all the family. Northumberland's children always had their breakfasts, while the rest of the family partook of but a rigorous fare in the morning on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. "BRAIKFASTE for my Lorde and my Lady" consisted of "FURST a Loif of Brede in Trenchors ij Manchetts a Quart of Bere a Quart of Wyne ij Pecys of Saltfisch vj Baconn'd Herryng iiij White Herryng or a Dysche of Sproits." This menu was graduated down to the two loaves of bread, gallon of beer and two pieces of salt-fish allotted to the yeomen officers in the establishment, in groups of four.[16]

All of the religious services were celebrated in household chapels handsomely provided with the necessary utensils and vestments. Northumberland's "Vestry Stuf" was under the special charge of a vestry yeoman, and when the family moved from Wressil to Leckinfield, or back again, it likewise, was always transported. For this purpose one cart was set aside; into it were loaded the four antiphonaries,[17] the four grails,[18] hangings for three altars, surplices, altar cloths, and the set of vestments and single vestments used every day.[19] "And all

[13] *Ibid.*, 7-11.

[14] Extracts from his accounts, *Archaeologia*, XIX, 293 *et seq.*

[15] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 2.

[16] *Northumberland Household Book*, 73-74.

[17] "A service book compiled by Pope Gregory the Great. It comprised all the invitatories, responsories, collects, and whatever else was said or sung in the choir but the lessons." (*Encyl. Dict.*)

[18] Grail — graduale. "A service book containing the hymns or prayers to be sung by the choir, so called from certain short phrases after the Epistle sung *in gradibus* (upon the steps of the altar)." (*Ibid.*)

[19] Single vestments, likely *tunicles*, Bishop Percy's note in *Northumberland Household Book*, 447.

outher my Lordes Chapell Stuff to be sent afore by my Lords Chariot before his Lordshipe remeve."[20] This remainder was heavy appurtenance probably, for the said "Chariot" required seven great trotting horses to draw it.[21]

In 1543 the chapel of Thomas, Earl of Rutland, contained furnishings valued at £59:19s. Among these were seven altar fronts including one of red damask and green "Bruges satin" embroidered, one ornamented with the family crest, two of crewel needle-work, and two of red and green Bruges satin embroidered with images of John and Mary. There were eight sets of vestments, some with copes, three of which were for priest, deacon, and sub-deacon; one set was made entirely of crimson taffeta embroidered with angels, the cope to the same being lined with green sarcenet; while another, boldly emblazoned with falcon's wings and true-loves, suggests services commemorative of joyous life, as those of tawny damask or white fustian seem penitentially plain. In addition, there were seven separate copes, service books, latten candle-sticks, a cross with copper and gilt staff, chalices, gilt altar basins, gilt cruets, censers, holy-water "stok and sprynkle," and the usual pyx and sacring bell, together with a "ship" for frankincense.[22] The chapel stuff of the Duke of Suffolk, at Suffolk Place in Southwark, included in 1535, the customary utensils, together with six gilt images of Mary Magdalene and Saints Edward, Margaret, Thomas, Katherine and George, each of which weighed from sixty to seventy-nine ounces. The entire chapel plate was estimated at a value of £193:12s.[23]

Such, in meagre outline, were some of the characteristic means employed by great noblemen before the Reformation in fulfilling their religious life. How loudly, in striking contrast, does Brathwait's description of the sober functions of an earl's Chaplain, or the simple emphasis laid upon preaching in a household like that of Edward and Henry, Earls of Derby, proclaim the prosaic changes in method enacted by the triumphing religious innovators!

"The Preacher or Chaplaine . . . is to be a man very

[20] *Northumberland Household Book*, 387.
[21] *Ibid.*, 127.
[22] *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 347, 349.
[23] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 452-453, and Introduction, xxxv.

well learned and of earnest conversation. At what time he doth know the Earle or Ladies pleasure, whether they will have him to reade a Lecture, or to say Divine Service, having prepared himselfe accordingly, at the hour appointed therunto, he is to come into the Chappell, or chamber appointed for that purpose, and ther to attend untill such time as the Earle and Countesse be placed and seated, and then to procede with his Lecture or Service, as hath beene appointed him. He is to dine with the cheefe officers, that he may be ready at the Lord his table before meales, to call vpon God for his blessings, and at after meales to give thanckes for the same."[24] This was after the very heart of Henry, Earl of Derby, who, in 1587 had but one Chaplain, Sir Gilbert Towneley, officially enrolled in his household.[25] A veritable troupe of divines, however, some sixteen or eighteen, representing the best minds among the diocesan clergy,[26] "preached" before his Grace from time to time, either at the Sunday or weekly service.[27] Not infrequently, too, the pulpit at Lathom or Knowsley was filled by the Lord Bishop of Chester himself, who alone, or accompanied by his wife, was often entertained at the house, usually sojourning there for several days.[28] What an interval — from the rich magnificence of the Roman Church, to the frigid plane of the "Institutes." Here were preeminently those lettered men of God, the preaching models of Calvin and Knox, well equipped, we fancy, as their stern visaged leaders, to hold forth mightily, while their terrified listeners did "grew and tremble," like those sobbing audiences in old St. Andrews!

Music still constituted, of course, a goodly part of the Chapel service, and their lordships evidenced the same keen interest in its effective welfare as under the old regime — nay, could at times turn their own skill to that noble art. The very religiously-minded James, 7th Earl of Derby, was a lover of music, at least of the religious sort, and did some composing of his own, having written an anthem, words and music, which was often

[24] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 12.

[25] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 23.

[26] *Ibid.*, Introduction, vi-vii, and the excellent biographical notes at the end of the volume by the editor, Rev. F. R. Raines.

[27] *Ibid.*, see pages of the *Journal Book*, 28-90.

[28] *Ibid.*, 31, 34-35, 44, 46, 48, 59, 64, 72, 89.

sung at Knowsley "to the organ, lute, Irish harp and violls."[29] The anthem begins as follows — "Come ye hearts that be Holy, celebrate your God, the unbegotten Father, the Fountain of all good, who made all things by his Word, and sustains them by the influence of his mighty Love . . ." a vigorous invocation, urgent for stalwart harmony! The earl relished his genial labour, and had not the terrible days of the Civil War rudely interrupted, he was minded to have wrought over the whole blessed Creed! Whatever bent his Grace had for music he probably inherited from his father, the Earl William, to whose credit is set down the composition of at least one original piece, in lighter humour than his son's — the same being a pavin for the orpharion, published in 1624. However, Earl William had a fondness for Church music too; he established a little endowment of £100, the interest to be paid to the use of the organist of Chester Cathedral.

The ordinary preparation for such a Chapel service as the above, was equally severe, the matter-of-fact arrangements being part of the functions of the Gentleman Usher. "Breakefast being ended, the one of them is to see the chappel wher the Lecture is to be reade, or service sayde, that it be furnished with foote carpetts, chaires, stooles, and cushions for the Earle and his Ladie, and the Strangers, according to their degrees."[30] Any unseemly interruption was avoided by locking all the gates just previous to prayers. The Porter saw to this charge, afterward coming in to service with all his keys.[31]

Despite the fact, however, that notable alterations in the character of household services were introduced by the Reformation, there was always one great practical purpose for which such exercises were fostered, whatever their nature, ornate or plain. Not a noble master, but felt that his control over the servants was fortified, and a difficult management made more certain, through the attendance of the entire house, compulsory if necessary, at religious services, and regulation to that effect was generally instituted in every establishment.

[29] *Stanley Papers*, Part 3, 1, xlvi-xlvii, and the notes.

[30] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 11.

[31] "Lord Fairfax's Orders for the servants of his household (after the Civil Wars)." Quoted by Bishop Percy in notes to the *Northumberland Household Book*, 421, *et seq.*

In 1469, George, Duke of Clarence commenced his Domestic Ordinances with such a regimen, — "FYRST, sith that alle wisdom, grace, and goodnesse, procedeth of veray love, drede, and feythfulle service of God, withoute whose helpe and socoure no good governaunce ne politique rule may be hadde; it is ordeyned therefore, that every holy day the clerke of the seid Duke's closett shalle ringe a bell, at places convenient, to matyns, masse, and evensonge; and one of the chapleyns shall be redy to saye matyns and masse to the housholde, and also evensonge; and that every gentylman, yeoman and groome, not having resonable impediment, be at the seid dyvine service; and it is ordeyned, that the clerk of the closette, the seid Duke being present at divine service, be in his surplyce, lighting wax at the levacion every day thereof; fayling, to lese his dayes wages." [32] Nor was this regulation simply for home use; just as insistently he further commanded "ITEM, that if the seid Duke lye at London, or any other place, at the parliamente or counsell, or whensoever he shall occupie his barge, that every of his servauntes, excepte suche as be appoynted to abide, attende, and waite diligentlye uppon the seide Duke; and alsoe in alle other places; that they attende uppon the seid Duke to masse and evensonge; uppon peyne of a dayes wages." [33]

Early in the following century, the 5th Earl of Northumberland, wishing to secure at once the proper performance of his servitors' duties, and the benefits of their regular participation in spiritual exercises, decreed a clever if bleak ruling to these ends — "ITEM it is Ordenyde by my Lorde and his Counsell to have a MOROWE MASSE-PREIST dailly now in his Lordeshipes Hous to say Masse Dailly at vj of the Clok in the mornynge thoroweowte the Yere that the Officers of his Lordeshipes Housholde may ryse at a dew Hower and to here Masse dailly To th' entent that they may com to recyve their Keys of their Offices at the Hower apoynted That they shall not nede to come to no Service aferwarde for tendynge of their Offices By reason whirof my Lorde nor Straungers shall not be unservyde at no howre nor tyme when Ushers shall comaunde." [34]

[32] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 89.
[33] *Ibid.*, 93.
[34] *Northumberland Household Book*, 170-171.

Henry, Earl of Derby ordered in 1587 — "IMPRIMIS that all my Lo. his household Servants gen'allie doe repaire vnto and heare devyne S'vice." [35] — while Lord Burghley ruled at Theobalds, that were he at home or not, there were to be two prayer services each day, the first at eleven o'clock, A.M., and the other at six P.M., before supper.[36] As usual, though, it rests with voluble old Brathwait to voice best the contemporary practice in this regard. He fashions a somewhat verbose speech, which with true Elizabethan obsequious self-abasement, he wishes might serve as a pattern address, to be delivered by an earl before his newly instituted household. It is quite like a monitory sermon, and no small part of it is devoted to the question in hand. The approach is made, however, through a description of the rather inquisitorial work to be assumed by the chief officers which shall enforce a regulation taken for granted. "And, forasmuch, as neither private familye, citye, or common wealth can be rightly ordered and governed, except in the first place, the Lord of Lordes be feared, loved, honoured and served, he (i.e. the earl) doth earnestly require and straightly charge his cheefe Officers to be vigilant and carefull to marke and see if any inferiour Officers, gentlemen pages, yeomen, or groomes be carles or slacke in comming to the place appointed for the ordinary Lecture, or to morning and evening prayer; and if any fayle to come to examine them and try whether ther were iust cause for their absence or not, also they are to learne and search out whether any in his house doe not professe God, his true religion, or that be Idolaters, blasphemers of his holy name, profaners of the Sabaoth, not giving reverence to Prince and Parente, given unto fighting or quarrelling whereby murder may ensew; that be adulterers, fornicators, or hawnters of bad houses, using to lye out of his house in the nighte; that he fellons, or purloyners; or that be bearers of false witnes, tellers of lying tales, breeders of contention; or that be drunkards, hawnters of tavernes or alehouses." Thus with Scriptural exactitude he runs through the gamut of human erring, and then continues with an interesting account of the machinery used to discipline all delinquents — "Theese and such like vices and offences, yow,

[35] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 20.

[36] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (Burghley's Life), 22-23, *et seq.*

my cheefe officers, shall punish in the manner and forme following: For the first offence (whether it be committed by gentleman, yeoman, or groome), yow shall call the partye offending before yow in the cownting house, and ther very sharply admonish him and threaten him: For the seconde offence, if he be a gentleman, yow shall imprison him in the cownting house, vnder the custodye of an yeoman vsher: if he be an yeoman or groome, then to imprison him in the porters lodge: the partye offending to remaine imprisoned so long time as in your discretions yow thincke the penaltye of the faulte deserveth, except I or my wife commande the contrarye: For the third offence, (whether it be committed by gentleman, yeoman, or groome) the partye offending is to be called before yow into the cownting house, the greatest parte of my servants being ther assembled; and yow shall openly make recitall of all his offences, and take from him his livery, or at the least his badge, and pay him such wages as to him is due, dischardging him from comming within my house, that he may be an example to others: this shall yow doe, except my wife or I command the contrary. Secondly, yee my cheefe officers are to be carefull, and as much as lieth in you to foresee, that I and my Ladye be orderly and dutifully served and reverenced. Thirdly, that my familye may live together in love and kindenes."[37] The officers were assisted in this police vigilance by the Chaplain, whose authority, however, was extended even over them. He acted rather in the capacity of a reforming advance agent, or spiritual plain-clothes man, and at no time could his moral espionage have been a pleasant occupation — "If he see any of the householde abuse themselves with offences and sinnes towards the Majestie of God, he is privately to advise and earnestly to admonish the party so offending to reforme himselfe; but (if he finde the party so admonished to persist and continew still in his wickedness,) then he is to make it knowne to the cheefe officers, that he may receive correction and punishment, according to the orders for the same prescribed. And if he happen to finde any of the cheefe officers slacke or careles in punishing of offenders, or that themselves be given to swearing or other vices, after private admonition to them given, if they amend not their faultes, he is to make the

[37] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

same knowne to the Earle: But he is to have regarde that for every light offence he runne not to his Lorde, to fill his eares with tales against his servants; For I have knowne some so busy themselves, in every matter, as their lives have bene of many disliked, and their doctrine very little regarded." [38]

Our pious old historian thus naïvely embellishes and rather makes his own, a venerable procedure, time-honoured and seasoned, for drawing negligent members of a great establishment back into the straight and narrow way. Over one hundred years before him, in 1469, the Duke of Clarence ". . . appoynted and ordeigned, that the Steward, Thesaurer, and Countroller, or twoe of them, shalle calle afore them, in the countinghouse, all the seid Duke's servauntes, commaunding and straytly charginge them, in the seid Duke's behalfe, to be of wurshipfull, honeste, and vertuouse conversation, absteyninge themselves from vicious rule and suspected places; and also restrayning them from seditious language, varyaunces, discentions, debates, and frayes, as well within the seide Duke's courte as withoute, wherethorough any disclaundre or misgovernaunce might growe; and if any contrary to this commaundemente offend, that he leese a monethes wages at the fyrst offence; at the second offence to be imprysoned by the space of a moneth; at the third offence, that he be pute oute of the seid Duke's courte." [39] It was ancient custom, like so much of household management, a very part of the organization, so that when Brathwait protests that he had ". . . neither President nor Recordes to helpe my memorye, . . ." [40] when he wrote his treatise, he doubtless spoke the truth.

With so much thought, time and money lavished on the panoplied side of religion, apart from its practical bent so shrewdly capitalized by these keen old noblemen, in many a household the service was truly spiritual, sincerely cherished for its own sake, and some of the gentle but hard lessons it expounded, fell on heedful ears. Many a costly public charity, founded by noblemen like Burghley,[41] proclaimed a proud stinting of self before

[38] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

[39] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 89.

[40] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 9.

[41] "He also built an hospital at Stamford, near his house of Burghley, all of free-stone, and gave an hundred pounds lands to it, for maintenance of

the urgent needs of a less fortunate brother; while, within the compass of home life too, kindly practices were often exercised, which still sing glees for hearts once attuned to good; amid so much that was sordid or cruel, anon there shines a warm humanity, — whose golden threads gleam in the somber warp.

"In former times Earles vsed to have their Chaplaine, who carried a bagg of small monye to give to the poore, as they traveiled; but that is now out of use. If any of their servants lay forth any, it is to be entered in this title (i.e. "Almes"). But I wish both Earle and Lady to have, either of them, a privy purse, and themselves to give to the poore, that the right hande may not knowe what the left hande giveth."[42] Thus, for once scarcely regretful, Richard Brathwait describes the passing of a traditional practice and sternly hopes for the inauguration of that utopian generosity never yet arrived at its hey-day. However all this may have been, the old historian here dwells upon that charity, at once the most common and picturesque in vogue with the whole Tudor nobility — almsgiving.

By this is meant no church or votive offering, no donations towards any large philanthropic purpose, but rather the small money response to those pitiful cries for mercy incessantly wailed at these great folk by the out-cast and indigent, ever at hand. It was scarcely possible for a nobleman or one of his servants to leave the gates without being importuned, or of his own accord bestowing a pittance upon some hapless wight, worthy or unworthy, while a journey for pleasure or a business trip, invariably saw the voyageur, lord or servitor, provided with change, against the certain plea for help.

Almsgiving, in fact, was regarded as a regular part of the household expenses; and the usual careful provision was made for it, a detailed book-keeping always duly recording the sums, however small, thus laid out. The Steward of Lord John Howard made a most characteristic entry in his accounts on May 24th, 1482 — "My Lady paid George Daniel (one of the house-

thirteen poor men forever, establishing many good ordinances and statutes for the government thereof, in hope to continue it to the benefit of the poor. He gave also thirty pounds a year forever to S. John's college in Cambridge, where he was a scholar. He gave also some plate to remain to the house." — Life in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, 26.

[42] Brathwait, *op. cit.*, 48.

hold servants) for al percels that he leid owte at Harwich, bote and al, and for costes to London and hors here and home agen, and the men that were with the horsses, and almis and every thing, the Summa of xxiij.s:xj.d."[43]

Indeed, Lord John seems never to have neglected what he thought was his duty in this respect; scarce a day passed without its little benevolence. The amounts were never large, varying approximately from j.d. to xij.d., but they were constant,[44] dispensed while Howard or some servant was travelling, hunting parties even, not excepted.[45]

Almsgiving was not necessarily a travelling practice only; many a poor suppliant made his plaint right at the castle gates, and any response under such circumstances, was usually, along with other like duties, in charge of the official Almoner. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, believed in this sort of charity and was, in fact, generous by comparison with other noblemen, in his alms; Mr. Richard Neale his Chaplain at Theobalds giving regularly each week xx.s. to the poor.[46] The old statesman's hard-headed sense however, likewise approved a more vigorous policy, at once thrifty and beneficent; he spent no less than ten pounds a week hiring such folk to work in his gardens as weeders and at other labour.[47]

Before Burghley's day, George, Duke of Clarence decreed that his Treasurer should pay over to the Almoner, at the counting house xij.d. per diem, the same to be distributed by the latter, at his discretion, to the needy, ". . . they to praye for the noble estate and prosperitie of the seid Duke."[48] This sum amounted to only £18: 5.s. a year, and seems rather a pitiful commentary upon the duke's sordidness; such an alms, though, was munificent, compared with the £4: 15s: 7½d., which was doled out during 1561, by the clerks and Steward of Henry,

[43] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 98.

[44] *Ibid.*, 107, 115, 121, 123, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 137, 139, 140, 142, 149, 151, 156, 157, 159, 162, 163, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 174, 178, 188, 191; 192, 196, 203, 204, 207, 208, 210, 364, 367, 368, 370, 398, 399, 401, 410, 456, 463, 472, etc., etc.

[45] The Earls of Rutland at Belvoir gave in just this same way. *Vide MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 382, 390, 449, etc.

[46] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 23.

[47] *Ibid.*, 23.

[48] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 89.

Earl of Derby, a shameful bagatelle set against that year's lavish outlay for ornaments, apparel and jewels — £1030: 19s: 10½d![49] Surely with a left hand so well schooled, the member on the right could well afford to sit in assured ignorance! Penurious as these alms appear, however, some recompense was made in other ways, for this was never the only manner in which their Graces bethought them of the least of those about them.

All manner of men took these small pecuniary aids from noblemen. Between 1560-1562, the Bertie household (later Lord Willoughby's) paid alms to the following unfortunates among others: — "a poore mayn which had bene in Bedlam" — "a poore man at the gate, which had his howse burnt" — "the prisoners at Huntington as herr Grace passed thorowe" — "to a poorae woman in the waye" — "the prisoners of Newgate" — "the poore at Haunces howse" — "Two poore women at blackfreyers" — and "to the presoners at the marshalsee."[50] Early in the 16th century Sir Henry Willoughby's generosity was extended to about the same class — now it was "a pore man that was robyd" . . . "a man that lyse bed-ryden as ye goo to Westmynster" . . . "to a woman of Lycestershyre that whent wyth a testymonyall for burnyng of hyr howse" . . . or, more characteristic of his age "to a clarcke goyng for orders cauled John Gleyden" . . . hapless "skolers,"[51] who again and again drew upon the sympathies of the well disposed knight, . . . or "ij pore men that com frome Rowme."[52] Lord William Howard's Castle, Nawarth, was besought by the maimed, blind and leprous, none of whom were sent empty away;[53] so the dismal line could be tallied; verily "ye have the poor always with you, and whensoever ye will ye can do them good"!

Over and above this continuous small alms giving, many of the nobility assumed heavier responsibilities of a charitable na-

[49] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 6-7.

[50] *Grimsthorpe House Papers* (1907), 465, 463-467.

[51] *MSS. of Lord Middleton*, 336, 365, 366, 391, etc.

[52] The Earls of Rutland gave to poor scholars also, and once to a company of scholars. *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 304, 384.

[53] *Household Books, Lord William Howard, Naworth Castle*, 54-55, 87-89, *e.g.*

ture. It is told of Lord Burghley, that he used to buy up grain in great quantities, in time of plenty, and then, when the price was up, to supply the markets of the neighborhood from his store at a reasonable figure, thus breaking the high cost for the poor. He regularly, each year gave away twenty suits of clothing to as many poor men, and in later life, as much as forty or fifty pounds a term for the release of prisoners, while in each of the last three years of his existence, he expended forty-five shillings a week, for poor prisoners and poor parishes, "so as his certain almes, beside extraordinaries, was cast up to be five hundred pounds yearly, one year with another."[54]

The House of Rutland likewise frequently gave freely to similar worthy causes. In January of 1592-1593, the Countess Dowager, Elizabeth, paid thirty-six shillings to the town of Orston, to be bestowed on the poor there, and "towardes the mayntaynynge of the hye wayes"[55] — the latter use, like so many mediaeval practices, a semi-religious obligation, apparently. The year before she paid for building a hospital at Bottesford, probably a memorial to her deceased husband. It was not a large structure, the entire mason work costing but £28, the carpenter work but £9, while ten oaks were felled at Croxton park to furnish the necessary wood.[56] By the end of the next year, the building was completed, and several women and men, dressers of flax, spinners, carders and weavers, were busily engaged upon making blankets, sheets and coverlets for use there, the entire cost being charged to her Grace.[57] In 1604, Earl Roger gave a generous alms to the poor of Grantham and Neward towns, amounting to no less than £60, from September 28th to December 15th,[58] and in 1611, he gave benevolences twice — 20.s. and again, £4, to "the poore dystressed people of Leicester, . . ."[59] His successor, the Earl Francis, paid, in 1620, a like benevolence to the poor of St. Martin's parish, that being his year's gift; quite a considerable sum for one annual dole.[60]

[54] Peck, *op. cit.*, 22-23, *et seq.*
[55] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 406.
[56] *Ibid.*, 405.
[57] *Ibid.*, 406-407.
[58] *Ibid.*, 454.
[59] *Ibid.*, 476-477.
[60] *Ibid.*, 523.

Somewhat akin to the small alms charities — quite as current, and as much a part of the established order of things, was the collation of broken victual, mussed remnants from the tables and kitchens, daily apportioned to the poor without the gates of great households.

In the Hall or Great Chamber of a nobleman's castle, where the food was dispensed, there might have been found, presumably in an inconspicuous place, some fashion of locked boxes [61] or caskes known as the "almes tubs." These receptacles were under the charge of the Usher and Groom of the Hall, one of whose duties was to see to it, that after all in the household had dined, the remainder [62] of meat and drink was safely stowed therein for distribution among the poor. This was not always a simple responsibility, for two sorts of filching rogues lay ever in wait to thwart so charitable a purpose — other servants and the dogs! Of the former, those most prone to this knavish thieving were yeomen, grooms and gentlemen's men, and, so nimble was their base skill, that in some households they were under compulsory order to serve without their cloaks, and in their livery coats — "for so were they the easier to be seene if they carried forth any meate that they ought not to doe." [63] The canines were fully as clever, and despite the fact that all the breeds, prized by their noble owners — hounds, grey-hounds and spaniels, were supposed to be kept in the kennels and other out-places suitable for them, and were allowed their just portion like all under the roof — in they would sneak to snatch a tempting morsel from an unguarded tub, and annoy the gentlemen dining with their fighting.[64] The groom was their arch enemy,

[61] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 228, "Item, for a lok for the almes tobbe."

[62] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 89-90. "ITEM, It is appoynted . . . that the seid Almonere, at every dynner and souper, wayte uppon the seid Duke's table, and there take uppe every dishe when the seid Duke hathe sette it from hym, and thereof to make sufficieyently the almes-dishe . . ." Into these tubs went also, in the olden day, soaked trencher bread; "The auncient use was not to allow any of the Earles Servants, sitting at the Officers table, or at other bordes in the Hall, to have any trenchers but such as they made for themselves of coarse cheate, which was good order in respect of the helpe it was towards the releefe of the poore; but now it is not liked of in many houses." Brathwait, pp. 22-23.

[63] *Ibid.*, 24.

[64] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 22.

armed with a whip and a bell "to feare them away withall."[65] When a howling diversion of this sort was always on the boards, how curious seem the reiterated injunctions in contemporary etiquette books, against talk during dinner!

While the alms-tubs doubtless furnished the greater part of the food daily given away to the poor, the supply was augmented sometimes, from other sources. Thus, in the Derby household the bread chippings from the pantries — the fees of servitors there, were bought up by the earl for such disposal, and the same provision was made regarding the beer fees.[66]

When the time came for distributing this food almes, charge of its allotment among the needy was given, perhaps to the Almoner or Porter,[67] or to the Grooms of the Hall, with the assistance of their fellows of the wood-yard, all, under the eye of the Usher of the Hall.[68] Nor could these responsible servitors themselves always be trusted to resist successfully the petty temptations connected with this work, so that in later times the Chaplain was bound ". . . often to goe to the gate to see the Vsher and groome of the Hall serve the poore, that those which be poore in deede may be well served, and idle rogues and light huswives from thence be banished."[69] Indeed, Brathwait would even have some of the chief officers in superintendence, declaring that such were ". . . not the worst, but rather the best service that he could doe his Lord; . . ."[70]

This was no overnice foresight. These food doles were generous, when so careful a manager as Burghley daily relieved from twenty to thirty indigent souls at the gates of Theobalds,[71] and it was inevitable that so rich a bait should draw ne'er-do-well vagabonds into the bread line. In fact, a nobleman's castle, because of this and other attractive features, always proved a tempting field for the sly operations of idlers and wantons, whose restless presence about the neighborhood was a constant source of anxiety to the noble owner and his officials alike. Folk con-

[65] Brathwait, 25.

[66] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 21.

[67] Breviate, *Archaeologia* XIII, 333. Also *Royal Household Ordinances*, 90.

[68] Brathwait, 24.

[69] *Ibid.*, 13.

[70] *Ibid.*, 24.

[71] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 23, *et seq.*

stantly passed in and out of the gates, so that stringent precautions had always to be observed for safe-guarding the premises against the admittance of such undesirable characters.

In this connection the porter's office was a post of strategic importance. Selected for their height and strength,[72] like policemen of to-day, the prime function of these men was to ". . . waite and attend dilygentlye atte the gate; and atte the leste one of them to be there, and see tha noe vitaills, silver plate, pewter vessells ne none other stuffe of the seide housholde, be enbeselled oute; . . ."[73] they were to allow ". . . no rogues and idle queanes to haunte about the gate,"[74] while each porter was to "have such Regarde to his Office that he shall not suffre anie to come w^th^ in the house but that are and shall be allowed for causes necessarie onles they be servyng men or others very substantiall by discrecon."[75] When country folk craved admittance on business with some one in the service, or on an errand, the porters held them at the gate, or, if favorably impressed by their appearance, let them into the lodge, whilst they summoned him with whom the strangers would deal.[76]

"Trusties" of the house, gate "sparring" was their official work. In the early day (1489) the Duke of Clarence ordered his gates shut in summer, before ten o'clock P.M., and opened at five in the morning, ". . . onlesse then they have other commandement."[77] Later, it was the custom to lock the gates before dinner and supper, and likewise before prayers, to avoid noisy interruption and busy-bodies, while they were closed for the night "when it groweth darcke."[78]

However carefully these warders were selected, their duties were apt to grow at times, a lonesome, tedious service, especially at night, and like that bawling rascal at Dunsinane, who caroused hilariously till the second cock on that memorable night, they were prone to mock their charges with their drunken snoring, at the expense of all safety. It was because of this sottish

[72] Brathwait, 45. "They should be men tall and stronge."
[73] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 92.
[74] Brathwait, 46.
[75] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 9.
[76] Breviate, *Archaeologia* XIII, 337.
[77] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 92.
[78] Breviate, *Archaeologia* XIII, 337.

inclination of porters in general, that head officers in a household, if they did their full duty, frequently inspected their lodges, and were ordered, like those in the household of Henry, Earl of Derby, in 1586 to make "a weeklie vewe & take Ord' that noe vagrant p'sons or maisterles men be fostered and kept aboute the house and that noe household S'vante of anye degree bee p'mitted to carie forth of the house or gates any mane' of victualls bread or drincke."[79]

Such were some of the details involved partly in the maintenance of that curious institution the alms-tub; at best, one fancies, with its nauseating possibilities, but a sorry refection for the poor. Nay, but it flourished and lustily. The historian Stow, eulogizing the late Edward, Earl of Derby, particularly commends him for his generous charity ". . . his feeding, especially of aged persons, twice a day, sixty and odd; besides all comers thrice a week, appointed for his dealing-dayes. . ."[80] and Edward, and the noblemen above mentioned were not unique in this charity; after all, your starved beggar little suffers from a delicate taste; he revelled in his reeking paradise, and went his hard way less mindful of mis-hap and woe, perhaps, with muttered grace for the weal of the rich purveyor of his greasy dinner.

The daily food-alms was a charity relief which the poor and unfortunate in the neighborhood of a great castle, could count upon receiving regularly. In addition, occasion rendered them from time to time, special objects of a lord's bounty. All merry festivals saw them remembered, and particularly the joyous spirit of Christmas brought them good cheer. For twenty years it was Lord Burghley's practice to lay out, at that season, from thirty-five to forty pounds annually, in beef, bread and money, for the poor of Westminster, St. Martin's, St. Clement's and Theobalds.[81] The observance too, of Passion week rites dictated customs which threw an odd relief into their eager hands. When the 5th Earl of Northumberland kept Maundy Thursday, he gave to each of as many poor men as he was years old, and to one other for the year coming, a wooden platter with a cast of bread, an ashen cup with wine, and a leathern purse,

[79] *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 22.
[80] Stow's *Chronicle*, Fol. Ed., 672.
[81] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 22, *et seq.*

with a penny for each year of his age, and an extra one again, for the coming year — a fearful, half-superstitious grasping of old Time by the fore-lock! In the same proportion, grotes, half-penny pieces and pennies were counted out by one of the household chaplains on behalf of her ladyship, the heir of the house, and the younger children, respectively. His lordship's measured charity further included clothing — to each of the lucky poor men, a linen shirt, containing two and one-half yards of cloth, and a hooded gown of russet, made out of three and one-half yards of goods, at xij.d. the yard.

Earl Percy conducted his part of this ceremonial, as well as the other services of the day, arrayed in a sumptuous gown of violet broad cloth handsomely furred with seventy-five black lamb skins, ". . . And after his Lordship hath don his service at this said Maundy doith gyf to the pourest man that he fyndyth as he thynkyth emongs them all the said Gowne."[82] What a pathetic triumph — like a mockery, to be thus heralded the completest pauper, in an extravagant piece of useless finery — yet, what fitter service for the ill-starred purple of the Praetorium!

On Good Friday, further, it was customary to give bread doles to the poor, — thus, in April, 1522, Sir Henry Willoughby's baker was paid v.s., the cost of some bread so used,[83] while

[82] *Northumberland Household Book*, 354-356. The following is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1731, vol. 1, 171. (Quoted in vol. 1, Brand's *Popular Antiquities*): "Thursday, April fifteenth, being Maundy Thursday, there was distributid at the Banquetting House, Whitehall, to forty eight poor men, and forty eight poor women (the King's age forty eight) boiled beef, and shoulders of mutton, and small bowles of ale, which is called dinner; after that, large wooden platters of fish and loaves, viz. undressed, one large old ling, and one large dried cod; twelve red herrings, and four quarter loaves. Each pesron had one platter of this provision; after which was distributed to them shoes, stockings, linen and woolen cloth, and leathern bags, with one penny, two penny, three penny and four penny pieces of silver; and shillings; to each, about four pounds in value. His Grace, the Lord Arch-Bishop of York, Lord High Almoner, performed the annual ceremony of washing the feet of certain number of the poor, in the Royal Chapel, Whitehall, which was formerly done by the Kings themselves, in imitation of our Saviour's pattern of humility, etc. James the Second was the last King who performed this in person." The King's Almoner still distributes Maundy-money on this day. — *Encyclop. Dict.*, Art. "Maundy."

[83] *MSS. of Lord Middleton*, 341.

Stow chronicles, to the everlasting honour of Edward, Earl of Derby the ample provision made by that nobleman "everie Goode Fridaie these thirty-five years (for) one with another, 2700, with meat, drink, money, and money worth." [84] Perhaps, finally, it was mighty old Death himself, who wrought a chance good turn for these famished waifs of misfortune and failure; anguished hearts sought solace in kindly acts, and if it were but to provide a solemn feast, thereto, in haughty contrition, inviting these luckless dwellers of the hedges — such, for them, were a rare, but at least a full repast!

On October 29th, 1560, the "poor," in gowns, marched two and two, in the great funeral procession of Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and after the burial they shared too in the sad but abundant funeral baked meats: "At the castle was prepared a great dinner, that is to say, there was served from the dressers (besides my Lord's service for his own board, which were three messes of meat) cccxxx mess, to all manner of people, who seemed honest; having, to every mess, eight dishes; that is to say, two boyled mess, four roast, and two baked meats: whereof one was venison, for there was killed for the same feast, fifty does and twenty nine red deere. And after dinner, the reversion of all the said meate was given to the poore, with dole of two pence a piece; with bread and drink great plenty. And after the same dinner every man was honourably contented for his pains." [85] In 1543, at the funeral of Thomas, Earl of Rutland, x.s.x.d., was distributed as a special alms to poor people, while one Thomas Tanfyld was paid v.s. for "rydyng abrood to dyvers townes to make billes of poor menes names to take almes and helpyng to distribute the same." [86]

Yet more munificent was the poor relief given by this same household in 1612, in pious memory of the late Earl, Roger, who died, July 22nd, of that year. On the day of the funeral, two beeves, boiled in the brew house, twenty-two hogsheads of beer, ten quarters and two strike (88 bushels) of wheat, and £30 in money were distributed by two clergymen with assistants, while on the following Sunday, bread was carried to such "poore people as through age or other infirmitie could not come for re-

[84] Stow, *Chronicle*, Fol. Ed., 672.
[85] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 255 *et seq.*
[86] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 342-343.

leife. . .''[87] In such manner, alike the regular and fitful charity of the nobility afforded an uncertain existence to these wan phantoms, who, true children of fortune, like the fowls of the air, gleaned a hazardous maintenance where chance best afforded.

Lastly, nobles under the old Church, and to some extent, after the Reformation, responded many times in the course of a year to a remarkable number of petty demands upon their purses, all, more or less of a religious nature.

Every special festival observed meant a contribution. The 5th Earl of Northumberland customarily gave on such occasions xij.d. himself, allowing his wife her proportional viij.d., while his heir and the younger children were supplied with correspondingly reduced sums. For one feast, that of Easter eve, ij.s. was also given to each ward and young gentleman at his Grace's ''finding,'' for his offering.[88] Frequently these small contributions were a part of ceremonies picturesque and curiously symbolical:—''ITEM My Lordis Offerynge accustomede upon Candilmas-Day Yerely To be sett in his Lordschippis Candill to offer at the High Mas when his Lordschipp is at home V Groits for the V Joyes of Our Lady — xxd.'' The offerings of the rest of the family both on this feast and on that of St. Blaise's day were also ''set'' in their candles. On Good Friday and also on Easter day, ''after the resurrection,'' it was given when the ''cross was crept.''[89] While the occasions for special

[87] *Mss. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 487. This was a universal custom; see *ibid.*, 342, and *Mss. of Lord Middleton*, 473.

[88] *Northumberland Household Book*, 335.

[89] The following is a description of the manner in which the King was accustomed to observe this ancient ceremony,—''Firste, the Kinge to come to the Chappell or Closset, withe the Lords, and Noblemen, waytinge upon him, without any Sword borne before hime as that day: And ther to tarrie in his Travers (i.e. closet) until the Byshope and the Deane have brought in the Crucifixe out of the Vestrie, and layd it upon the Cushion before the highe Alter. And then the Usher to lay a Carpett for the Kinge to Creepe To the Crosse upon.'' Bishop Percy's note in the *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 436-437. It is quoted from ''an ancient Book of the Ceremonial of the Kings of England,'' and the Bishop goes on to say ''. . . in 1536, when the Convocation under Hen. VIII. abolished some of the old superstitious practices, this of Creeping to the Cross on Good-Friday, &c. was ordered to be retained as a laudable and edifying custom.''

offerings were frequent, the sums thus given in this household were invariably small, amounting in the course of an entire twelve-month to little more than £1 for the whole family.[90] The earl further laid out other pittances yearly, each recorded in detail with his usual painstaking accuracy — all told, a matter of some forty shillings. Such included Shrine gifts: — "ITEM, My Lorde usith yerely to sende afor Mychealmas for his Lordschipe Offeringe to the Holy Blode of Haillis — iiij.d." [91] Equal sums were sent to Our Lady of Walsingham [92] and St. Margaret's in Lincolnshire.[93]

Also a part of this same were the costs of lights maintained by the year at each of the above Shrines and one ". . . to birne befor our Lady in the Whit-Frers of Doncaster of my Lordis foundacion at every Mas-tyme daily thorowout the Yere. . ." [94] There was no emotional romance or dazed piety about any of this procedure; whatever the lights stood for spiritually, after all, wax was wax, and his lordship paid his bounden way to righteousness as circumspectly as he laid in his food supplies: — "ITEM My Lord usith and accustomyth to sende yerely for the Upholdynge of the Light of Waxe which his Lordschip fyndis byrnynge yerely befor the Holy Bloude of Haillis Containing xvj lb. Wax in it aftir vij d. ob. for the fyndynge of every lb. if redy wrought By a Covenaunt maide by gret (i.e. gross, or in bulk.) with the Mounk for the hole Yere for fynding of the said

[90] *Northumberland Household Book*, 332-338.

[91] *Ibid.*, 337, Bishop Percy notes with evident satisfaction "This was a pretended Relique of the Blood of our Saviour, which was brought from the Holy Land, and deposited in the Monastery of Hales in Gloucestershire by Edmund Earl of Cornwall, (son of Richard King of the Romans, brother of King Henry III.) It has been commonly said to have been the blood of a Duck changed every week, . . . But Hearne has printed the Report of the Commissioners, who were sent purposely to examine it, at the Dissolution of the Monasteries; and it plainly appears to have been neither more nor less than CLARIFIED HONEY, 'which being in a glasse, appeared to be of a glisterynge Redd resemblynge partly the color of Blod.'"

[92] "The famous Image of the Virgin Mary, preserved in the Priory of Black Canons at Walsingham in Norfolk, was celebrated all over Europe for the Great Resort of Pilgrims and the rich offerings made to it." *Ibid.*, 338.

[93] *Northumberland Household Book*, 332-338.

[94] *Northumberland Household Book*, 338.

Light byrnynge — x.s." [95] Alas! crisp business even here, a once spontaneous and beautiful oblation gone into a sort of prayer-wheel jig, estimated by rote and bought at a bargain! His Grace, be it said to his credit, "rewarded" the monk, canon and priest who attended to his candles at these honoured Shrines, with iij.s:xij.d., and iij.s:iiij.d. respectively, per annum.[96] He also opened his heart once a year to the Prior of the White Friars of Doncaster, presenting him regularly with xx.s. ". . . toward the byeynge of ther Store agaynst the Advent befor Christynmas." [97]

The earl might be liable too for a yearly assessment of about 26s:8d. contingent upon his membership and that of his lady and his heir in St. Christopher's Guild, of York, for their brother- and sisterhood; and for a like relationship for himself and his wife in the religious House of "Saynt Roberts of Knasbrughe." This membership fee was given to the first organization ". . . At such tyme as the Masters of the said Saynt Cristofer Gild of York bringis my Lord and my Lady for their Lyverays a Yarde of Narrow Violette Cloth and a Yerde of Narow Rayd Cloth." [98]

Offerings and gifts similar to these and very many others were made by all of the Tudor Nobles. Lord John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk, was very precise with his contributions at Church, whether he were home, at Stoke,[99] or elsewhere — London, Westminster, Colchester, Durham, Norwich — whither soever business or pleasure carried him.[100] He visited at different times the famous Shrines of his day, like Walsingham,[101] or St. Edmund's Bury,[102] at which latter place an additional 8.d. was once paid "for to make a tabyr befor Seynt Edmond." Lady Howard likewise offered to Our Lady of Walsingham, giving once also, 6.d. "for a potel of oyle to the lampe" and 6.d. more for a pound of wax.[103] His lordship maintained his lamp in the Church of St. Nicholas at Colchester and had his involved

[95] *Ibid.*, 338.
[96] *Ibid.*, 341-342.
[97] *Ibid.*, 339.
[98] *Northumberland Household Book*, 347-348.
[99] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 106, 117, 140, 144, 153, etc.
[100] *Ibid.*, 132, 180, 181, 223, 341, 342, 448, etc.
[101] *Ibid.* (in order to No. 109), 448, 339, 449, 49, 149-150, 359, 360, 447, etc., 163, 169, 176, 199, 222, 432 and 160.

"reckonings" with William Mann, sexton, over the oil and wax bills.[104] He made payments to friars,[105] donated to poor prisoners in the Castle at Colchester,[106] paid for special masses and shrivings,[107] contributed to lazars, and regularly, to the pious support of one Harry Elyse, a "gentleman Hermit,"[108] and he once laid out the rather handsome sum of 21s. "for dressing of the roode at Dover courte with XXX sterys of gold, prise viij.d. a piece."[109]

The Earls of Rutland, in the earlier day paid "rewards" to St. Ann's Guild at Warden Abbey,[110] to the aldermen of the Guild of Our Lady at Boston,[111] purchased anniversary masses from the Prior and Convent of Holywell,[112] paid for lamp maintenance,[113] and the usual Shrine and Rood offerings.[114]

Money was similarly expended by the Willoughbys at Wallaton, while, in addition, small sums were given from time to time to pardoners,[115] friars and others, on pilgrimages to St. Michael's Mount, or other like venerated shrines,[116] to a "female anchorite,"[117] to women collecting for a votive lamp maintenance,[118] to "gatherers" for bridge repair, one such structure being Our Lady Bridge at Tomworth,[119] which name suggests that its upkeep was a pious duty, — in fact to scores and scores of such "good works," small aids were continually given.

In conclusion, there is much to be said on behalf of the religious life fostered by these old Tudor Nobles. It is no niggard truth that such a life did prosper in every household, under an ample, if at times, a compulsory patronage. Often cherished and sustained, primarily, perhaps, for a utilitarian purpose, it grew, a well nurtured plant, to frequent flower in kindly charity and sympathetic feeling for God's little ones. Small consideration has been paid here to the more pretentious foundations which noblemen often supported, but in so hasty a survey of their humbler good works even, the spirit prompting to such very constant responsiveness is impressive. Their gifts were frequently petty, nay, pitifully ungenerous and mechanical, but often, on the other hand, they evidence a spontaneous heartiness, which warms one to this very day. The point again is, that they did give!

110 *Mss. of Duke of Rutland*, 4 (in order to 114), 272, 275, 282.

115 *Mss. of Lord Middleton* (in order to 119), 342, 348, 354, 335, 351, 384, 349, 384, 335, 376, 386, etc.

CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICE IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Bassiolo. Stand by there, make place.
Lasso. Saie now, Bassiolo, you on whom relies
The generall disposition of my house
In this our general preparation for the Duke,
Are all our officers at large instructed
For fit discharge of their peculiar places?
Bas. At large, my lord, instructed.
Las. Are all our chambers hung? Thinke yow our house
Amplie capacious to lodge all the traine?
Bas. Amply capacious, I am passing glad.
— *Chapman* — "*The Gentleman Usher.*" Act. 1, Sc. 2.

In addition to the branches of household service described thus far there were other departments in every great establishment, whose proper operation was relatively as important as was that of any already considered. To begin with, the bed-chamber service. Most of the members of a household, of course and commonly, many guests as well, had to be accommodated at night with properly equipped sleeping quarters. This urgent need for plenty of lodging room, accounts for the numerous chambers in the castles of noblemen, by far the greater number of their apartments being lodgings. Leckinfield, for example — one of the castles of the 5th Earl of Northumberland — certainly no extraordinary dwelling, had more than forty chambers or bedrooms;[1] and Sir John Fastolf's Castle at Caister had at least twenty-eight sleeping apartments.[2] Now the care of the bedrooms, with the custody of the necessary bedding and linens, together commonly, with all the arras and tapestry in an establishment, was entrusted to the Yeomen and Grooms of the Wardrobe of Beds, as the office was called. Under the general direction of the Gentlemen Ushers, they attended to the mending and

[1] *Northumberland Household Book*, 463-464.
[2] Inventory of the effects, etc., *Archaeologia*, XXI, 261 *et seq.*

repairing of any of their stuff when it was necessary, for which purpose the Yeomen, or one of them, had often to ". . . goe through the chambers both of gentelmen, yeomen, and groomes, and if he finde either wrentes or holes in their beddings or furniture, that the same may be amended; for a littell labour done in due time will save from much losse, which want of looking to will cause to happen. . ."[3] They also issued out bedding as needed, and of course, looked after all stuffs, linens and other, not in use. Their supplies were kept in neatly equipped ward rooms, fitted out with the necessary drawers, shelves and presses, and with ". . . chimney therein, that such household furniture as is not often used may therat be well aired."[4] Every Yeoman was enjoined to see ". . . as occasion serveth, that all his beddes, bolesters, and pillowes, with all the rest of the furniture for beddinge, be airede, and beaten, and that there bee noe duste in them, nether any mothes bredde, which both is a greate spoile to stuffe, but in that case dried wormewode is very good, and ofte turninge and airinge as abovesaide."[5]

Akin in occupation to these servitors were their fellows of the bed-chambers, whose labour was probably more skilled, however, because they were entrusted with the care of the clothing of the lord, and that of his family, much of which was exceedingly rich and very costly. Richard Brathwait well describes them and their functions in this wise: "They should be men brought up at Tailors occupation, that if ther be any thing amisse in the Earle or Ladies garments, they may be able to mend the same; skillful to brushe and rubb over, not onely garments of cloth, velvet, and silkes, but also cloth of gold and silver, and also in what sorte to foulde and lay up the same: they are to have a chimney in their Warderobe for ayringe of apparell. Their warderobe must be furnished with standerts, Tronkes, Presses, brushing-tables, linnen cloathes, Buckerams, and peeces of Sarcenet, to cover and carry garments in; which warderobe they must be passing carefull to keepe very cleane, and to see that all things therin be placed in decent order."[6]

In the household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, the Yeo-

[3] Brathwait, 27.
[4] *Ibid.*, 27.
[5] *Breviate*, 334-335.
[6] Brathwait, 27.

man entrusted with the care of his Grace's clothing probably made up materials also. He was paid 13s.4d., by the year, ". . . for fyndynge of all maner of Threde belongynge the Sewyng of all manor of Stuf which is shapen and cutt in my Lordis Wardrob as well concernynge my Lorde my Lady my Lordis Children As thos which ar at my Lords fyndynge. . ."[7]

Both sets of servants had to keep their inventories of stuff, noting down carefully, everything which was at hand and its condition; what was actually worn out, and all the new materials coming in; furthermore, each year, when accounts were taken, which process, as noted already, included a general invoicing of all stock in hand, these servants of the ward-robe of beds, and of the bed-rooms, had likewise to fetch out all their goods, have them accounted, and then return them to their places.[8]

In addition to these duties, the ward-robe men cleaned their ward-robes, the bed-chambers and the galleries. How exacting and troublesome much of the work of both these sets of servants was, appears upon a consideration of the quality and amount of materials in their respective ward-robes, and the manner in which the chambers, and especially the beds, were fitted out for use.

In Sir John Fastolfe's mansion at Caister, all of the sleeping rooms but four, had their feather beds, bolsters, blankets and sheets, and even the four rooms not quite so completely equipped, two of which chambers were in the stables, had their mattresses, sheets and coverlets, of "blewe and rede." A complete picture of "My Maister is Chamber" is called up by the following list of its one time contents:

"In primis, j Fedderbedde. — Item j Donge (i.e. mattress) of fyne blewe.

"Item, j Bolster. — Item ij Blankettys of fustians.

"Item, j payre of Shetis. — Item j Purpeynt.

"Item, j hangyd Bedde of arras. — Item j Testour. — Item, j Selour (a covering for a seat or stool).

"Item, j Coveryng.

"Item, iij Curtaynes of grene worsted.

"Item, j Bankeur of tapestre warke.

[7] *Northumberland Household Book*, 349.
[8] *Ibid.*, 365.

"Item, iiij peces of Hangyng of grene worsted.

"Item, j Banker hangyng tapestry worke. — Item, j Cobbord Clothe.

"Item, ij staundyng Aundyris. — Item, j Fedderflok (i.e. Feather-bed).

"Item, j Chafern of laten. — Item, j payre of Tongys.

"Item, j payre of Bellewes. — Item, j litell Paylet. — Item ij Blankettys.

"Item, j payre of Schetys. — Item, j Coverlet.

"Item, vi White Cosschynes. — Item, ij Lytell Bellys.

"Item, j foldyng Table. — Item, j longe Chayre. — Item, j grene Chayre.

"Item, j hangyng Candylstyk of laton."

Interesting enough also, is the enumeration of the articles once in the chamber of Milicent Fastolfe, Sir John's wife: —

"In primis, j Fedder Bedde. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, j Materas.

"Item, j Quelte. — Item, smale Pyllowes of downe.

"Item, j honged Bedde of fyne whyte. — Item, ij smale Payletts.

"Item, j rede Coverlet. — Item, j leddre Pyllewe. — Item, j Basyn.

"Item, j Ewer. — Item, ij Pottys.

"Item, ij lyttyll Ewers of blew glasses powdered withe golde."

Several of the chambers were more elaborately equipped than either of the above — that of Sir Robert Inglose, for example, with its pillows of down and lavender, cushions of red silk and red saye, fine arras cloth, furred counterpayne, tester, and green carpet. Even the cook, in that remarkable old house was allowed his feather-bed, two sheets, and a red coverlet of roses and blood-hounds' heads!

Besides all this stuff regularly in use, Sir John's ward-robes were richly stored with quantities of fine goods — all manner of bedding, arras and tapestries. Among the items set down in the careful inventory are no less than thirty-three pillows of many sizes and materials — five of green silk, two of red velvet beaten upon satin, one of purple silk and gold, and several both of fustian and linen. Other sorts of bedding matched the pillows in elegance: — "J Cover of grene silke to a bedde, lyned with blewe silke. — Item, j close Bedde of palle grene and whyte,

with levys of golde. Item, j Donge (i.e. feather-bed) of purle sylke," etc., all of which must have been very splendid.

The supplies of arras cloth for hangings, bed dressing, testers, covers, selers (furnishings, probably for bed-heads) dais and benches, contained many elaborate and interesting pieces, especially the following, among them — One cloth of arras, called the "Shepherds Cloth," one, of the Assumption of Our Lady, one, "for the nether hall" ". . . with a geyaunt (giant) in the myddell beryng a legge of a bere in his honde." and one, for the west side of the Hall, of the Siege of Falaise. The dais in the same Hall had its cloth with ". . . j wodewose (wild-man) and j chylde in his armys." One cloth of arras showed ". . . iij archowrys on scheting a doke in the water withe a crosse bowe," while anothed displayed ". . . a gentlewoman harpyng by j castell in myddys of the clothe." A bed covering pictured ". . . hontyng of the bore, a man in blewe with a jagged hoode white and rede," etc.

Completing the long list of materials on hand, "Canvas in the Warderop and fyne Lynen Clothe of dyvers sortes" captions an enumeration of some forty odd pieces, several of which were very long, one alone being sixty yards in length, and not one of them under eight yards; the entire lot, not including several pieces the measurements of which were not recorded, totalled well over one thousand yards of material.[9]

Making up the beds, and particularly that of the master of the household, was by no means the least of the work of the Yeoman and Groom of the ward-robe of beds. Contemporary direction about so important a matter, set down for certain of the servants of King Henry the 8th, describes an intricate and an exacting process charged with ceremony and elaborate detail, to vex any but those born to the cloth, —

"Furste a groome or a page to take a torche & to goo to the warderobe of the kynges bedd, & bryng theym of the warderobe with the kynges stuff unto the chambr for makyng of the same bedde. — Where as ought to be a gentylman-usher, iiij yeomen of the chambr for to make the same bedde. The groome to stande at the bedds feete with his torche. — They of the warderobe opennyng the kinges stuff of hys bedde upon a fayre sheete

[9] Inventory of effects, etc., *Archaeologia* XXI, 232 *et seq.*

bytwen the stayde groome & the bedds fote, iij yeomen or two at the leste in every syde of the bedde. The gentylman usher and parte commaundyng theym what they shall doo. — A yoman with a dagger to searche the strawe of the kynges bedde that there be none untreuth therin. — And this yeoman to caste up the bedde of downe upon that, & oon of theym to tomble over yt for the serche thereof. Then they to bete and tufte the sayde bedde, & to laye oon then the bolster without touchyng of the bedd, where as it aught to lye. Then they are warderobe to delyver theym a fustyan takyng the saye therof. All theys yomen to laye theyr hands theron at oones, that they touch not the bedd, tyll yt be layed as it sholde be by the comaundement of the ussher. — And so the furste sheet in lyke wyse, and then to trusse in both sheete & fustyan rownde about the bedd of downe. The warderoper to delyver the second sheete unto two yeomen, they to crosse it over theyr arme, and to stryke (stroke) the bedde as the ussher shall more playnly shewe un to theym. Then every yoman layeing hande upon the sheete to laye the same sheete upon the bedde. And so the other fustyan upon or ij with suche coverynge as shall content the kynge. Thus doon the ij yoman next to the bedde to laye down agene the overmore fustyan, the yomen of the warderobe delyverynge theyme a pane sheete, the sayde yoman therewythall to cover the sayde bedde: And so then to laye down the overmost sheete from the beddes heed. And then the sayd ij yomen to laye all the overmost clothes of a quarter of the bedde. Then the warderoper to delyver unto theym such pyllowes as shall please the kynge. The sayd yoman to laye theym upon the bolster and the heed sheet with whych the sayde yoman shall cover the sayd pyllowes. And so to trusse the endes of the saide sheete under every end of the bolster. And then the sayd warderoper to delyver unto them ij lytle small pyllowes wherwythall the squyres fo rthe bodye or gentylman ussher shall give the saye to the warderoper, and to the yoman wyche have layde on hande upon the sayd bedde. And then the sayd ij yomen to laye upon the sayde bedde toward the bolster as yt was bifore. They makyng a crosse and kissynge yt where there handes were. Then ij yomen next to the sheete to make the feers, as the ussher shall teche theym. And so then every of them sticke up the aungell about the bedde, and to lette downe the corteyns of the sayd bedde or sparver.

Item, a squyer for the bodye or gentylman-ussher aught to sett the kynges sword at hys beddes heede.

Item, a squyer for the bodye aught to charge a secret groome or page to have the kepynge of the sayde bedde with a lyght unto the tyme the kynge, be disposed to goo to yt.

Item, a groome or a page aught to take a torche whyle the bedde ys yn makyng to fetche a loofe of brede, a pot with ale, a pott wyth wine for theym that maketh the bedde, and every man.

Item, the gentylman-ussher aught to forbede that no manner of man do sett eny dysshe uppon the kynge's bedde for fere of hurtyng of the kynge's ryche counterpoynt that lyeth therupon. And that the sayd ussher take goode heede, that noo man wipe or rubbe their handes uppon none arras of the kynges, wherby they myght bee hurted, in the chambr where the kynge ys specially, and in all other."[10]

It is very probable, from the great similarity between the royal household and the establishments of the nobility, that some such elaborate ceremony as this for making the king's bed, was in vogue in their households, especially on state occasions. Even the gentry in the England of the Tudors, owned nicely equipped beds. Thus, one John Amet the elder, cutler and citizen of London, through his will, dated 1473, "bequeathes to his sister Margaret the bed in his chamber, 'hoole as it is, that is to saye, feder bedde, matras, bolster, pyllowes, blankettis, sheteis, coverlet, quylte, tester, and three curtyns, iij payer of my beste sheteis and ij coverlettis, besyde that that lyeth on my bedde'."[11]

Finally, the polite lodging of guests, as set forth in another contemporary already quoted illustrates still another function of these ward-robe servitors. After describing the details of the dinner service, the account goes on: "Thenne it moste be sene yf strangers shalbe brought to chamber, and that the chamber be clenly appareld and dressed according to the tyme of the yere, as in wynter-tyme, fyre, in somur tyme the bedd couerd with pylawes and hedde-shetys in case they wolle rest. and after this done, they moste have chere of neweltees in the chamber. as

[10] The ceremonial of making the King's bed. *Archaeologia* IV, 311 *et seq.*

[11] *Italian Relation of England*, Camden Society; contains a description of the ceremonial for making the King's bed, as drawn up in the reign of Henry 7th.

Iuncate, cheryes, pepyns, and such neweltees as the tyme of yere requereth; or ellis grene ginger comfetts, with such thynge as wynter requereth; and swete wynes, as ypocrasse, Tyre, muscadell, bastard vernage, of the beste that may be had, to the honour and lawde of the principall of the house." [12]

These duties also, were carried out under the eyes of those dexterous servants, many of whose functions have already been considered — the Gentlemen Ushers; in the words of Brathwait ". . . They are often to goe into the warderobe of beddes, to see that all household furniture be safe and orderly kept; likewise into the Lodgings appointed for strangers, that they be cleanely and sweete kept, and all thinges in them necessarie and convenient. . . If Earles or great Lordes come to lodge ther, one of the gentleman Vshers is to attend them to their chambers, and during their aboade to see their Liveries and breakefastes orderly served: . . . If ther be Knightes or gentlemen of like qualitye, they must appointe some yeomen waiters of good experience, in like sorte to attend upon them." [13]

The inventories of the ward-robe stuff of a Tudor nobleman will likewise suffice to convince any patient reader of to-day, that the office of the ward-robe, like that of the ward-robe of beds, was no sinecure. Fancy the work involved in properly caring for the following rich clothing and harness formerly belonging to his Grace, Henry, Earl of Stafford —

"A gowne of clothe of tyssue, lyned with crymsyn satyn.

A gowne of russet tynsell, furred with black buggy.

A gowne of whyte damaske clothe of gold, lyned with crynsyn velvet.

A gowne of crynsyn velvet, lyned with damaske cloth of gold.

A gowne of whyte sylver, lyned with crynsyn velvet.

[12] *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, Early Eng. Text Soc., ed. Furnivall, Part 3, 373. Furnivall says in a note to this part of the piece — "I do not suppose that each guest retired to his own bed-room, but to the general with-drawing room, — possibly used as a general bed-room also, when the Hall had ceased to be it. 'The Camera usually contained a bed, and the ordinary furniture of a bed-chamber; but it must be remembered that it still answered the purpose of a parlour or sitting-room, the bed being covered over during the daytime with a handsome coverlid, as is still the custom in France and other foreign countries to this day.' — *Domestic Architecture*, iii, 94-5."

[13] Brathwait, 11.

A gowne of greene velvet, lyned with grene satyn all through.

A gowne of taffita velvet, lyned with wright black satyn; the forent, the cap, and the hynder parte, with black sarcenet.

A gowne of black velvet, olde, lyned with tawny satyn through, and garded about with a broad yarde of velvet.

A gowne of black velvet, furred with fyne black buggie; the cap, the forfront, and the resydue with black lambe.

A gowne of russet velvett, velvet upon velvet, furred with black buggy all through.

A gowne of tawny velvet, furred with ribands all through.

A gowne of cloth of russett satyn, complete unmade.

A gowne of cloth of black satyn, complete unmade, with a cape to the same.

A lyninge of black sarcynet, with ij. pieces to the same.

A hole lyninge, for a gowne of whyte satyn.

A cote of cloth of tyssue, with di. sleeves, and a placard to the same.

A cote of damaske cloth of gold, with sleeves and placard therto.

A cote of purple velvet, embroidered with damask cloth of gold.

A cote of greene satyn, quylted and lettred with embroidered worke, placard and sleeves to the same, lackinge a faire boddy.

A cote of greene velvet, with ij. . . sleeves, and placard therto.

A jacket, satin, cloked with damaske cloth of gold, with half placard to the same.

A frocked jacket of crymsyn satyn and cloth of sylver, and underlayd with cloth of tyssue and crymsyn satyn.

A jackett of greene tynsell, lyned all through with greene sarcenet, and placard.

A frocke of crymsyn, welted with cloth of gold.

A frocke of black velvet, with ij welts of clothe of gold.

A dublet of cloth of tyssue, lyned through with blacke sarcenet, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of cloth of sylver, lyned through and underlayd with damaske cloth of gold, and lyned with whyte sarcenet through, with a placard.

A dublet of greene damaske clothe of golde, lyned with greene sarcenet through, and a placarde to the same.

A dublet of blewe tynsell, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of blacke satyn, with a placard and foresleeves of damask cloth of gold.

A dublet of cloth of sylver, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of crymsyn saten, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of crymsyn satyn, cut and underlayd with cloth of gold of damaske, lyned through with black sarcenet, and a placard to the same.

A dublet of crymsyn tynsell.

A payre of hosyn of skarlet, the brech of sylver, and underlayd with damaske cloth of gold, and two claspes, and two oies of sylver and gylt to the same.

Two payre of hosyn, skarlet, garded with crymsyn velvet.

A payre of hosyn of skarlet, garded with the same.

A payre of hosyn, black, with purple brech, embroidered and underlayd with cloth of sylver.

Two payre of hosyn black, and garded with the same.

A payre of hosyn of lether, the brech of skarlet, and garded with the same.

A petycoate of skarlett.

A cloke of skarlett.

Three plumettes of feders, wherof one blacke, one russett, and vij. crymsyn.

A gowne layd with sylver and gylt, and a girdle of greene ribband silke with a greate knot therto.

A payre of arminge spores, and arminge sworde, with a cloth corded with crymsyn velvet. A buckler.

A paire of stirropes, gilt, newe, the ledders corded with crymsyn velvett.

A paire of stirropes, olde and gilt, the ledders corded with crymsyn velvett.

A paire of stirropes, the ledders corded with crymsyn velvett, and greene and whyte lares.

Tye hoses of greene velvett, embroidered with clothe of gold.

A hole hors harnes of crymsyn velvet, frynged with damaske cloth of gold, and a pilyon of crymsyn velvet for my Lady, embroidered with damaske cloth of golde.

A harnes of blacke velvet stoded with . . . and gilt.

A horse harnes of greene velvet, embroidered with damaske cloth of gold.

A headstall and a reane of crymsyn velvet, guarded with whyte and greene ribands.

A sadle covered with crymsyn velvet, frynged with damaske and gold.

A saddle covered with black velvet, frynged with damask and gold, and new girthes to the same.

A saddle, covered with black clothes for a male, and girthes to the same.

A sumpter saddle.

Two barbes for horses.

A paire of buskyns of blacke velvet.

iij. paire of buskyns of blacke clothe.

ij. payre of yellow buskyns.

iij. payre of buskyns.

A payre of shoes of crymsyn velvet quartered.

iij. payre of shoes of whyte clothe, wherof one paire given to Mr. Audley, the ij^{d} day of October.

iiij paire of shoes of redd clothe.

iij. paire of yellow clothe.

A payre of arminge shoes.

A payre of slippers of redd letter.

A paire of male gerthes.

A sumpter cloth, containing in length ij.y^{ds}, and in bredth a y^{d} and di.

A sumpter cloth, contayning in length ij. yerdes, and in bredth 1 y^{d} and di.

A gowne of tynsell with crymsyn saten.

A gowne of damaske clothe of golde, lyned with crymsyn saten.

A gowne of damaske clothe of gold, furred with ermyne.

A gowne of crymsyn tynsell, lyned with crymsyn velvet.

A gowne of cloth of sylver, lyned with damaske clothe of gold.

A gowne of crymsyn velvett, perled, and lyned with cloth of sylver.

A gowne of purple velvett, lyned with cloth of damaske golde.

A gowne of blacke velvett, lyned with crymsyn tynsell.

A gowne of greene velvett, lyned with greene saten.

A gowne of whyte satyn, lyned with crymsyn velvett.

A gowne of blacke velvett, furred with mynever.

A gowne of black velvett, lyned with crymsyn saten.
A gowne of tawney velvet.
A gowne of blacke damaske, lyned with blacke velvet.
A gowne of russet satyn, lyned with grene tynsell.
A gowne of tawney camlet, lyned with tawney velvet.
A kirtle of damaske cloth of golde.
A kirtle of yellow satyn.
A kirtle of white satyn.
A kirtle of black velvet.
A kirtle of russet satyn.
A cloke.
A christeninge gown of blewe velvet, furred and powdered with armins.
A payre of shoes of black velvet.
A payre of shoes of blacke cloth.
A payre of slippers of black velvet.
A payre of slippers of black lether." [14]

This is a very long inventory, but many like it, and some with more items of wearing apparel still, could have been listed. Indirectly it conveys a fair impression of an important part of the work of the men entrusted with the care of all this rich stuff.

The ward-robers were busy servitors; those in office for the 5th Earl of Northumberland, some six men and a child, were among the few servants in that great household, the exigencies of whose offices relieved them from personal attendance upon his Grace at all hours of the day. Even when there was a press of strangers to be entertained, these men were not called upon to help in the Hall or the Great Chamber, if their proper work were at all engaging.[15]

Another much prized household department was the Armory. Richard Brathwait writes concerning it as follows: "It is a thing very commendable that the Earle have a faire Armorye well furnished with Armours, Weapons, and shott; and it will be a good example for such Noblemen and gentlemen as shall see the same, to furnish themselves according to their places and degrees; for (albeit I hope, and with all my harte doe pray, that the Kings Majestie may long raigne over this Realme of Greate

[14] *Italian Relation of England*, Camden Society, 125-129.
[15] *Northumberland Household Book*, 326-327.

Brittaine in prosperity and peace) yet I thincke it were not amisse in time of peace to have this noble Realme furnished and provided of all things necessary for Armes." [16]

As a matter of fact, most noblemen had their armories which were probably well equipped. The historian Harrison, in his chapter on Armour and Munitions says — "As for the armories of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a part) they are so well furnished, [that] within some one baron's custodie I haue seene three score [or a hundred] corslets at once, beside caliuers (i.e. colivers) hand-guns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie sight wherof appalled my courage." [17]

What an armory of the early day, (about the middle of the 15th century) might have in the way of equipment, may be seen from the inventories of Sir John Fastolfe, quoted above. Among other paraphernalia for war-fare, that famous old soldier had stored up in his domestic arsenal the following items — Pieces of satin and silk for dublets and jackets; jacks of black linen cloth, stuffed with mail, and canvas and mail; caps armored with mail and horn; mailed gloves of sheep and doe skin; great cross-bows of steel; with a great double windlass; small and great quarrels — the latter feathered with brass; cuirasses, Briganderons, Haubergeons, Ventaylettes, a Garde-de-bras, Salades and spear-heads.

Turning to the days of Elizabeth, it appears that the armory of one of her great military men, at least, was well supplied with equipment; when Lord Willoughby was in the Netherlands, one of his servants, John Stubbe, wrote to his Grace, under date of May 14th, 1585, concerning some domestic affairs, and especially about the proposed removal of some equipment from the armory; he expresses himself with solicitude as follows in part — "There are also sixty armours to be carried out of the house and over seas, for the delivery of which she (Lady Willoughby) would gladly have your warrant. She is having them dressed, so that they may be ready when cousin Wingfield calls for them. Wingfield says that he has authority from you to take these things without other warrant to her. 'Good my Lord, my Lady your

[16] Brathwait, 40.

[17] *Description of England*, Book II, 282, New Shakespeare Society.

wife takes hirself for guardian of your house and what is therein during your absence; . . . it wold remedy all to delyver your pleasure in a few written words. To say truth it is no tryfelyng matter to empty your store house of armor. It is a man's other thresory, therfor requireth som warrant from yourself. A man shall hardly get a robbinet out of hir Majesties armory without a warrant." [18]

The household armory was in the care of the Armorers, who were regularly enrolled in the servant corps. Regarding the duties of these men, Brathwait again, expresses himself as follows: "If the one of the Armorers be a perfect workeman, the other may serve, though he be of lesse skill; for I would have them not onely able to scoure and dresse Armours, weapons and shott, and to place the same in the Armorye in decent and seemely manner, but also to make Armours, wherby the Earle shal be better furnished, and they kept from idlenes." [19]

The 5th Earl of Northumberland employed four hands, all of whom probably belonged to this service. The first of these was the overseer of the armory and the armorer who received for his ". . . Fee an Hole Yere for that caus to be payd ones a Yere at Michalmis — xx.s." The second was the Armorer himself, who supplied some of the materials of his craft — emery and oil for cleaning and polishing, and buckles, leather and nails for repairing his goods; his remuneration was 53s: 4d. per annum, in household wages, plus an additional fee of 10s. paid to him twice a year — at Lady-Day and Michaelmas. The two other men were a "Bower" and a "Fletcher" respectively; the former hired ". . . for seynge and Dryssynge of all my Lordis Bowes in the Yoman of Bowes kepynge from tyme to tyme Viz. for Settynge Pullynge and Skynnynge of them yerely as oft as they nede at his owen cost and charge And to fynde Horne Glewe and all maner of things that they lak for mendynge of them when they be faltid Which my Lord gyffith to hym yerely for his Fee for mendynge and seynge to my said Lordis Bowes to be paid ones a Yere at Michalmas for the hole Yere — xxs."

The Fletcher attended to the dressing of all the arrows, he, like his brothers ". . . to fynde Wax Glewe Silke and al

[18] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 25.

[19] Brathwait, 40.

maner of othir things that laks for mendyinge of the said Arrowes. . . ." [20]

It was the question of military preparedness, further, together with the need of being well equipped against several of the common diversions of the day, which accounted for the importance of still another household department — that of the Horse. The 5th Earl of Northumberland ordinarily sheltered and fed from twenty-seven to thirty-three horses. These were for the use of members of the family and certain servants, for the most part connected with the stables; they were catalogued in the household accounts after their various uses — gentle horse, palfreys for my lady and her women, his Grace's hobbies and nags, a male-horse for carrying the earl's armor, sumpters or cloth-sack horses, for transporting his bed and wearing apparel, great trotting horses for drawing the "chariot," three horses for the mill, two of which were used to run the machinery, while the third carted grain and meal to and from the mill — and seven for the servants "that ar at my Lordes Horsyng."

During the winter, the earl's careful economy limited the number of horses to twenty-one, kept by the establishment at "hard meat" in the stables. Evidently her Grace staid in-doors during that rigorous season; at any rate, her palfreys were off the pay-roll. The earl drew up this latter list which was ". . . not to be excidit without my Lordes Pleasure knowen upon a(any) Consideracion," while his heir was still in his nonage; notwithstanding that fact, his Grace proudly anticipates the young man's happy maturity by listing "THE HORSSES that my Lorde allowith the LORDE PERCY his Son and Heire to have stondynge in his Lordshipes STABLE When he is at Yeres to ryde and is at my Lords Fyndynge."

Truly one would need little more than this old accounting to estimate the high status in the family of the heir of the Housel! No horses were listed for the use of the women, as above observed; the earl himself, furthermore, was content with two nags, one "for change," while four more had to suffice for carriage of his stuff when he traveled — his bed, clothing, armor, shaving-basin and ewer, the latter utensils, in such an exigency, under the charge of a Groom of the Ewery. A nag apiece was

[20] *Northumberland Household Book*, 349, 352.

allotted my lord's second and third sons, while in glittering contrast to the humble estate of these luckless minors, and proportionally, to that of the earl himself, the generous provision of six horses must have gone far toward satisfying every galloping whim of the young scion upon whose shoulders would presently descend the ancient dignity of the House. Once vouchsafed a proper coming of age, young Lord Percy had his travelling equipment handsomely assured. He would ride in winter on a great double trotting horse; another steed of similar fashion, called a "Curtall" should bear his young Grace out of towns, while, with lavish profusion, still a third was guaranteed to facilitate his proper entry into the same centres of civilization. An ambling horse for daily travel, with "A proper ambling little Nag" against hawking and hunting, and a great ambling gelding to lug armor and a change of apparel, completed the really splendid out-fit destined one day to be his![21]

These horses owned by the earl, however, assured less than half of the mounted presentation made by his Grace's establishment when travelling; all but seven of the members of the so-called "riding household," probably owned their own horses, but the necessary fodder for them, together with horse-meat as they called it, was paid for winter and summer, by Northumberland.[22]

Northumberland's riding establishment, at least that part of it actually owned and maintained at his expense, was small. In 1469, the Duke of Clarence had ninty-three horses in his stables, sixty-nine of which were "double horses," while twenty-four were hackneys. Their bare maintenance cost the prince £266: 17: 3. per annum; hay, one load per diem costing £73 a year; oats, of which 1820 quarters were required in a twelve-month, amounted to £151: 13: 4; litter for bedding — one hundred and four loads a year, cost £6: 18: 8, while shoeing totaled £35: 5: 3. in a year.[23] This however, was probably a sumptuous equipment for that time, and belonging to a prince of the blood, may have been above the average. On May 22nd, 1546, however, the Duchess of Suffolk had "90 horses and geldings of all ages and

[21] *Northumberland Household Book*, 55 *et seq.*, 357 *et seq.*, etc.
[22] *Ibid.*, 34, 37.
[23] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 104.

both ambling and trotting, 'as well of the stood as for the careage'. . . '' in her stables and pastures at Grimsthorpe.[24] A contemporary biographer also affirms that the stables of Lord Burghley cost that nobleman at least 1000 marks per annum,[25] while, in 1561, Edward, Earl of Derby, spent £53:18:11 on beans and oats alone, for horse feed, and the thirteen ''stablers'' enrolled in the servant corps of the Earl Henry, speak well for the riding equipment of that nobleman.[26]

The conduct of the stables, like all the other household departments, was in the hands of Yeomen and Grooms, customarily called after their special branches of service ''Yeomen of the Horses,'' ''Yeomen of the Waineries,'' ''Yeomen of the Stirrups,'' ''Groom Sumpterman,'' or ''Groom of the Hackneys'' etc. They one and all took their orders from the Gentleman of the Horse, a functionary, who, from the importance of his station, was almost on a par with the great officers of the household.

According to Brathwait, the office of Gentleman of the Horse was ''. . . not properly of household, yet annexed vnto it; so that if the cheefe officers doe, either in the saide gentleman, or any els belonging to the stable, finde offences, they may correct and punish the same.'' The functions of his office ran the usual wide gamut of duties; he had to know the horses weel, breeding, buying and training being among his important charges. ''He is to take delight in being often in the stable, as also in riding himselfe vpon great Horses which will cause the Rider to be more diligent to make them well mouthed and ready to gallop the Ringe, to mannage, to make the standinge turne, to passe the Taro, to retire, to curvet, and bownde, and runne a swift careere, and to make a iust and true stopp. If an horse can doe all theese well, he may be allowed for an horse of service, although ther be divers other things for pleasure, which the Rider may practize.'' [27]

The Gentleman of the Horse held the appointment of his Yeomen and Grooms and exercised a constant surveillance over them; while under ordinary circumstances such superintendence were

[24] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 453.
[25] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 22 *et seq.*
[26] *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, 3, 27, 86-87.
[27] Brathwait, 13 and following.

detailed enough, yet when the household moved, or when his Lordship travelled, a special responsibility fell to the share of this official; diligent painstaking was his day's order; ". . . in Iourneying, . . . he is to be last up in the evening, and first in the morning, and to be in the stables both after and before the grooms, which will cause both yeomen and groomes to be more diligent, and yet all will be little enough, as by experience he shall finde."

When his Lord journeyed furthermore, the Gentleman of the Horse gave personal attendance — "Hee is to attende his lorde taking horsse, to helpe him up and downe, and to bee alewayes neare his personne, so lonnge as hee is on horsse backe, and to see his lordes spare horsse bee ever neare and reddie uppon call, likewise to see the footemen bee reddie to attende on eather side." [28]

Finally, this officer, like his fellows in other trusts, had his careful accounts to keep — lists of all the horses, their condition, the pedigrees of foals and fillies bred in the stud, inventories of all stable paraphernalia, the feed stored and used, with the source of supply and the prices affixed, together with all the expense accounts when the household or some part of it travelled.

Some of these accounts were very full and accurate. One drawn up in April of 1547, of the horses belonging to the Duchess of Suffolk, fills three and one-half printed pages. Its title in part indicates its scope — "The booke of suche horses as my Lades grace hathe at Grimsthorpe or ellse where the 28 of Aprill, anno primo Ed. VI., with a booke thereonto anexed of all suche horses and geldinges as hath ben solde, geven or died since the 22 of May anno 38 Hen. VIII., untill this same daye afor named." The tabulation, as the title sets forth, describes the horses, trotting, ambling, etc., frequently with some further useful characteristics, age and perchance, pedigree. . . "A baye flanders mare with four whight fett." "Baye flanders with a melle (i.e. tender) mothe," etc.[29]

A man of first rate intelligence and not a little technical training, the Gentleman of the Horse filled a conspicuous office in the household. In the social life of the establishment also, his status

[28] *Breviate*, 326.

[29] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 453 *et seq.*

was high; dining at the table of the first officers, he was furthermore honoured with the distinction of carrying up the first dish to his lordship's board, while if guests were being entertained, he might perchance be summoned to fill the very honourable position of Carver or Sewer to his Grace.

A very peculiar honour, in conclusion, fell to the Gentleman of the Horse upon the sad occasion of his noble master's demise. In the stately funeral procession, the favorite riding-horse of the deceased was saddled and bridled with black velvet trappings, and led, immediately behind the corpse of its late master, by this officer, its somber equipment subsequently falling to him as a dole.[30]

A passing note, finally, should be taken of the Garden department, among these miscellaneous branches of household service. Brathwait's description of the duties of Gardners, affords, as usual, a good insight into the great store set by well conducted gardens among the nobility of the Tudor period. "The Gardiners should not onely be diligent and painefull, but also experienced and skilfull, at the least the one of them to have seene the fine gardens about London and in Kent; to be able to cast out the Quarters of the garden as may be most convenient, that the Walkes and Allies may be longe and large; to cast up mounts, and to make fine Arbours; to set hedges, and finely to cut them; to tread out knottes in the quarters of Armes and fine devises, to set and sowe in them sweete smelling flowers and strewing hearbes; to have in the finest parts of the garden, Artichocks, Pompions, Melons, Cucumbers, and such like; in other places convenient, Radishes, Keritts, Carrets, and other rootes, with store of all kinde of hearbes for the Kitchen and Apothecary: to know what flowers and hearbes will beste endure the Sunne, and which neede most to be shaded: in like sorte for the East and North winds, not onely to be skilful in planting and grafting all kinds of fruicte trees, but also how to place them in best order: to be able to iudge of the best times and seasons to plante and graft all fruictes, and to sett and sowe all flowers, hearbes, rootes; and also the best time when to cut and gather all hearbes, and seedes, and fruictes, and in what sorte to keepe and preserve them: to make fair bowling Alleys, well banked,

[30] Brathwait, 16.

and soaled; which being well kepte in many howses are very profitable to the gardiners. . .'' [31]

It is not necessary after this sketch, and with all that has been written about the subject, to comment (in detail) on the wonderful results achieved in gardening by some of the experts in the art at this time in England. The Garden of Lord Burghley, at his house Theobalds, must have been wonderfully beautiful; the observant Hentzner visited it and set down this brief description. ''. . . from this place (the gallery) one goes into the garden, encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are a great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a jet d'eau, with its bason of white marble; columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden. After seeing these, we were led by the gardner into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman emperors in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was an oval table of red marble.'' [32]

King James I afterwards further improved and embellished this celebrated garden, and another foreigner, one Mandelslo, visiting England in 1640, impressed with its verdant splendours, also left a short record of his visit to it — ''It is large and square, having all its walls covered with sillery, and a beautiful jet d'eau in the centre. The parterre hath many pleasant walks, many of which are planted on the sides with espaliers, and others arched over. Some of the trees are limes and elms, and at the end is a small mount, called the Mount of Venus, which is placed in the midst of a labyrinth, and is upon the whole, one of the most beautiful spots in the world.'' [33]

Truly the gardens ran a wide range of usefulness, furnishing play-grounds, picturesque walks, and by no means least, fresh fruits and vegetables for the table and herbs for the apothecary!

[31] *Ibid.*, 39-40.

[32] Hentzner's *Travels*, 38.

[33] *Voyages de Mandelslo*, quoted in *Archaeologia*, VII, 121.

CHAPTER X

SOME DIVERSIONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes (Princesse. Ed.) and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it cometh to passe, that when the queenes maiestie dooth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vsuallie 400 carewares, (which amount to the summe of 2400 horsses,) appointed out of the countries adioining whereby his cariage is conueied vnto the appointed place. . .''

— HARRISON, *Description of England.*

Tudor noblemen, if they kept their estates up properly, were apt to be very busy men — more so, if they took any share in the worldly affairs of their day, as most of them did. However, the intricate details of estate management, no more than the perennial demands of politics or social life, exacting as these might be, filled all of their time, and a wide and varied round of diversions helped them fleet their leisure hours pleasantly enough. Among other amusements to be briefly observed, there were two practices common among all the nobility, which border, at least, on diversions — these were moving from residence to residence, and travelling; some of the details involved in the conduct of these two activities are exceedingly interesting.

All noblemen customarily owned several residences which they reserved for their own use, at each of which they dwelt for varying lengths of time every year. The 5th Earl of Northumberland owned, among other castles and manours, four places in Yorkshire, devoted during parts of each year to his personal use. These were the Castles of Leckinfield and Wressil, the latter about one-half the size of Leckinfield — New Lodge in Leckinfield Park, and Topclif, described by Leland ''as a goodly maner house yn a parke;'' Leckinfield was situated two miles from the town of Beverly, while Wressil was equally distant

from Howeden Market "where the bishop of Durham hath a faire palace."[1]

The great Earls of Derby, Lancashire noblemen, likewise retained in the 16th century, several houses for their own accommodation — Lathom House, New Park, a lodge in Lathom Park, and Knowsley, all frequently mentioned in their household books.[2] Lord Willoughby had his residence, Grimsthorpe House, in Lincoln County, another place at Stamford in the same county, as well as his London residence in the Barbican; and a contemporary biographer, describing the housekeeping of Lord Burghley says "And first . . . it is to be noted, he kept principally two houses or families; one at London, the other at Theobalds. Though he was also at chardge both at Burghley and at Court, which made his houses in a manner four."[4] This practice was common with all the nobility.

The Earl of Northumberland and the Earls of Derby used their lodges for housekeeping during short periods only, when accounts were being taken, or as temporary dwellings, while one of their greater houses was being opened up; and in Northumberland's case, residence at New Lodge was always with a limited household. On the other hand, when the entire establishment was "set up" at one of the large castles, it remained in occupation usually for some months — perhaps half a year running, being known during such time as the "standing house." Thus in 1586, the Earl of Derby resided at Knowsley from July 18th to December 24th. In the year following, Lathom House was occupied from May 13th to July 24th, when the household returned to Knowsley, remaining there until February of '88. In 1589, part of June and July was spent at Lathom, whilst during the summer and the early autumn, Knowsley was again open. From January to April of 1590, the household resided at Lathom, Knowsley being the residence that year from June until the end of August.[5]

The 5th Earl of Northumberland probably divided his residence somewhat after this fashion between his two Castles of

1 *Northumberland Household Book*, 465.
2 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2.
3 *Grimsthorpe House Papers.*
4 Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 22 *et seq.*
5 *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2.

Leckinfield and Wressil, the first of which houses, however, with the New Lodge in the neighboring park, was officially closed each year from Hallowe'en until Shrovetide.[6]

The process of moving the household from one residence to another was quite a ponderous labour, conducted with a good deal of ceremony, and well bolstered up with certified bills and all the customary clerk-work. Certain of the servants always went ahead to open up a castle and set all in readiness for habitation against the coming of the rest of the family; and while no country place was ever left without a keeper, or entirely closed, fitting for residence a castle like Leckinfield, with its eighty-three odd apartments, "houses" and chambers, all but eleven of which were shut up during the winter, must have been quite an undertaking.

If the family spent some time at a lodge, or in a neighboring town, between breaking up at one castle and re-establishing housekeeping at another — a thing frequently done — certain servants were given liberty to go about their own affairs in that interim, and probably, as in the Northumberland household, lost their wages for that period; still other servants were delegated to stay on in the castle about to be quit; some might be placed at board-wages in the town were the family sojourned, drawing pay also for attendance upon the lord and lady, which they customarily gave between meals; whilst still others of the servant group dwelt in the usual intimate association with the family, devoting their time and attention to household service as under ordinary conditions. For each of these groups, a check-roll would be made out by one of the Clerks of the Brevements, or the Clerk of the Kitchen, containing the names of the servants and their offices in the household, and in Northumberland's household these bills received his Grace's signature, after they had passed his scrutiny.[7]

Moving entailed, further, the actual transportation of much household material — furnishings, and servant equipments. In the household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, "cariages" were used for this purpose, and each time residence was changed

[6] *Northumberland Household Book*, 377 *et seq.*

[7] *Northumberland Household Book*, 193-194, 250-251, 261-263. See also *Stanley Papers*, Pt. 2, 37, and Peck, *op. cit.*, 22 *et seq.*

by the establishment, the loading of the carriages was superintended by his Grace's Marshals and Ushers of the Hall, under direction of the head officers, who, in turn, worked after the household rule for moving, set up by the earl himself with his domestic council.

According to this regulation of Northumberland's, at each removal, three carriages were set aside for the ward-robe stuff; this included apparel belonging to the earl himself, his wife, and her ladyship's gentlewomen; their bedding, with that for the children, and other articles, presumably also personal, from the Great Chamber. Two of these carriages had to take everything except stuff actually in use by the people concerned — ". . . the Stuf that doith hange and the Beddes, . . ." for the removal of which the remaining carriage was reserved.

Into another vehicle was placed the clothing of the older children and that of their attendants and servants. Single carts were likewise assigned, one for the lighter vestry furnishings, a second to the cups, cans, cruses, basins, chipping-knives, and linen, from the pantry, buttery, seller and ewery, with the bedding and clothing of the servants of those offices; a third to the bake-house appurtenance, with the beds, apparel, and other belongings of the Bakers, Brewers and Groom Ushers; a fourth similarly accomodated the Attorney, if he were in the house, the two Auditors, two Carvers, two Sewers and two Gentlemen Waiters; a fifth was used thus by the Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Chambers; a sixth and seventh to the impedimenta of the eight household clerks — four to a cart, each group with its "Gret Standert Chest for carying of ther Bookes. . ."; an eighth lugged stuff for the two Chaplains, the Officers of Arms, four Yeomen of the Chamber, four Yeomen Waiters and the two Porters — all, two to a bed, sorted after their callings, whilst a ninth cart accomodated the "Toilles," bedding and apparel of the Smith, Joiner, Painter, the two Minstrels, and the two Huntsmen.

Two carriages were required for the utensils from the kitchen, scullery, larder and pastry departments, including spits, pots, pans, "traffets" (i.e. milk strainers), racks, "Pryntes" (moulds?) for pastry, scullery vessels, dresser clothes, ". . . with the ij Beddes for the iiij Cookes to ly in And all the Parsans

ther apparrell. . .'' and two carriages were scheduled likewise for the bedding and clothing belonging to the Dean, Sub-Dean, Priests, Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel, with that of the Yeoman and Groom of the Vestry; the Priests and Gentlemen of the Chapel were allowed a bed to each couple, the Yeoman and Groom also slept together, whilst the little youngsters were bundled three to a bed; one of the carts loaded the beds, whilst the other stored wearing apparel.[8]

Thus, might one have been a wayfarer on that Yorkshire roadway lying between Leckinfield and Wressil Castles, on a fine September day, Anno Domini 1520, perhaps there had lumbered past him down the rutted way, a creaking caravan of seventeen clumsy vehicles, in each of which was carefully stored a goodly portion of the domestic paraphernalia belonging to the greatest nobleman in those parts — the mighty 5th Earl of Northumberland. Nay, such processions must have been common enough sights in Sixteenth-century England, momentarily stirring the admiration or the hatred perhaps, of the country folk, according to the character of the particular nobleman owning the goods. But as old Harrison would say, whither is our dreaming fancy carrying us! Moving on its practical side was a troublesome exercise, necessary perhaps, to more easily reach food stored up on different demesnes; however, the whole process was conducted with a fine flourish, which leads one to believe that it was not entirely an unpleasant work, while to a lord himself, and particularly to many in his household, moving from residence to residence must have proved an agreeable change of surroundings quite worth the temporary annoyance.

Very similar to this cumbersome but stately order for moving from house to house, was the regulation of the Riding Household — an institution whose proper organization and working was certainly a source of pride and satisfaction to those haughty, aristocratic old noblemen. Probably it was a portion of some nobleman's Riding Household which Paul Hentzner saw, and which led him to comment upon the proud character of the English; at any rate the Riding Household was that very goodly part of the regular establishment, which was detailed to accom-

[8] *Northumberland Household Book*, 386 *et seq.*

pany a nobleman on his travels either about his own country, or abroad, should fortune carry him thither.

In personnel the Riding Household was simply a diminished domestic equipment, practically every department of the regular home establishment being represented in it. It was organized to give such service, as far as circumstances would permit, as that which a nobleman enjoyed at home — to guarantee satisfaction of his every want, and by no means least, to assure the royal splendor and maintain the dignity of the house before the world.

The "SHORTE DRAUGHT made of TH'ORDER of my Lordes SERVAUNTES of the RIDING HOUSHOLDE As well Winter as Somer How they shal be appointed to gif their Attendaunce daily at every tyme when my Lorde rides" enumerates the Riding Household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland. There were detailed first, a group of five servants ". . . that RIDES befoir with hym that goith to taike up my Lordes Lodginges when his Lordeschippe rides" including in order a Yeoman Usher of the chamber "for taking of my Lordes Lodginges," a Clerk of the Kitchen, who saw all of the offices properly equipped for the incoming of their officers, "a Yeoman Uscher of the Hall for Herbigiours for my Lordes Servantes," a groom for his Lordship's chamber, and a Yeoman or a Groom Cook. In this group, the Harbinger was a most important functionary, one whose duties must often have been perplexing and of a nature to strain the temper of any but an even tempered soul; mention has been made before of the very conscientious attention paid to rank in Tudor times; it was an exceedingly precious commodity, each member of a household establishment, as of other institutions, guarding his modicum of status jealously; now when the household moved, of course there must be no pell-mell jumbling of potentiores and inferiores. Every mother's son had to be lodged while on the road exactly at his proper radius from his noble master and this finickin task was the Harbinger's chief duty. George, Duke of Clarence prescribed the following regulations for men filling this office in his household, and they well illustrate the exacting nature of this servitor's work:

"ITEM, it is appoynted that the herbergoures for the tyme

beinge shall make herbergage to everye estate, and other persons of the courte, that, after theire estate and degrees, they have lodginge nexte to my lord, as theyre offices and attendaunces require. And that noe man of the seid courte presume to dislodge any man, or take any lodginge, other then shall be appoynted by the seid herbergoures; and if case be that any of the seid company be lodged, yett for resonable causes and considerations to remove hym, and otherwise lodge hym, as the case shall require. Alway forseen that in the town adjoyning to my lorde's lodginge be reserved and kept reasonable lodging for straungers, and suche as shalle resorte to the seide Duke; and if any man presume to do or offend contrarye to this ordinaunce, to be punished, for the furst offence to leese a monethe's wages; the second tyme to be emprisoned; the third tyme to be putte oute of the courte."[9]

To return to the Riding Household — in addition to these of the first group, a party of officers called cloth-sack officers rode likewise, ever in advance of the real cavalcade; they were a Groom Sumpterman for the Cloth-Sack with his lordship's bed, a similar officer with the cloth-sack with the coffers, and the gentlemen servants attendant upon the cloth-sacks.

Finally, in the procession proper, a Yeoman of the Cellar, with his cup, Marshals of the Hall, an Officer of Arms, Gentlemen Attendants, a Gentleman Usher of the Chamber, together with a Sewer, Carver, Cup-bearer and Chaplain, rode ahead of the earl, while in the rear this veritable ambassadorial accompaniment was rounded up by the Yeomen of the Robes, Horses, Chambers, Pantry, Buttery, and the Yeomen Waiters, the Grooms of the Chambers, Ward-robe, Ewery and Stirrups, Clerks of the Signet and Foreign Expenses and ". . . all outher Yomen being with my Lorde to ride bihinde my Lorde in like caas."[10]

There were fifty-seven people in Northumberland's Riding Household, a complete equipment, and proportionally as dignified and serviceable as that of the Duke of Clarence, which latter, with its high officers, Chaplains, Bachelor Knights, Secretary, Ushers, Yeomen and Grooms, Herald-Messengers and Trumpets,

[9] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 94.

[10] *Northumberland Household Book*, 156 *et seq.*

listed in 1469, some one hundred and eighty-eight persons.[11] What a picturesque and truly splendid institution, this of the Riding Household! Its advanced guard of busy harbingers with their attendants to select and assign proper quarters to all in his Grace's train; then the cavalcade itself, all duly officered and equipped to make the best possible presentation, and guarantee his lordship the elaborate ceremonial of home service; all en route, furthermore, moving to the brisk note of the trumpet. Each establishment, as noted, had its Trumpets and Drums, and according to Brathwait, the former musician was a prominent personage when the household moved — "When the Earle is to ride a Journey, he is early every morning to sownde, to give warning, that the Officers may have time to make all things ready for breakefast, and the groomes of the stable to dresse and meate the horses. When it is breakefast time, he is to make his second sounding: breakefast ended, and things in a readiness, he is to sounde the third time, to call to horse. He is to ride formost, both out and into any towne, sounding his trumpet. Upon the way he may sounde for pleasure. But if he see the day so spent that they are like to bringe late to their lodging, he is to sound the Tantara, to move them to hasten their pace." The trumpeter blew with a right good lust too, for our pleasant old author warns him and the drummer ". . . to goe often into the Stable, to acquainte the horses with the sounde of the trumpet, and the noise of the drumme."[12] If in the daily life of these old noblemen there was much which impresses one as barbaric, truly they did foster a tone, a varied colour in their domestic institutions indicative of a vigorous zest for life and its possibilities which is refreshing to contemplate!

The noblemen's resources for diversions, more strictly speaking, were astonishingly varied; without mentioning the numerous games and races, enlivened ordinarily by betting, a round of diversified entertainment was readily available certainly, for any interested in it, running all the way from the curious charms of a wandering bear-ward or juggler, to a piece, perchance by the Royal Players themselves!

In 1560-61, Richard Bertie (later Lord Willoughby) and his

[11] *Royal Household Ordinances*, 99.

[12] Brathwait, 44-45.

Countess enjoyed miscellaneous entertainment, a part of which with their rewards was as follows: "To one of Borne, which brought a bayting bull," 3s.4d. "To one which played the hobby horse before my Master and Ladies Grace." 6s.8d. "To Goods the master of fense and his companie which played before her Grace." 13s.4d. "To two men which played upon the puppetts two nights before herr Grace." 6s.8d. "To four musitians and a hobby horse which weare at Beleawe at the marriage of Mr. Carro and Denman." 15s.10d. "To a moresse dawncer of litle Bytam." 2s. "To a jugler With his musisioner at Mr. Nautons mariage." 10s.[13]

Belvoir Castle was visited by jugglers, mummers, bull-baiters, dancing bears, bear-wards, among others — those of the Queen, and those of their Lords of Suffolk and Westmoreland, — jesters and fighting dogs, for all of which amusement small sums were paid out by their Graces.[14] Not infrequently too, noblemen depended upon home talent for this sort of diversion. The 5th Earl of Northumberland had his own bear-ward, as did many of the noblemen, and his Grace "usithe and accustomyth to gyfe yerly when his Lordschipe is at home to his Barward when he comyth to my Lorde in Cristmas with his Lordshippes Beests for makynge of his Lordschip pastyme the said xij days — xxs."

Such was a common part of the miscellaneous entertainment of the day, a kind of motly vaudeville, in circuit from castle to castle. A higher type of amusement, certainly, was offered in that drama-loving age by the scores and scores of player troops, maintained frequently by noblemen themselves, by royalty, and also by many of the cities. Most, if not all of such troops, toured the great houses of the nobility, and their performances, together with plays done often by the servants of a household, certainly offered a great variety of dramatic entertainment.

At Belvoir Castle rewards were paid through a series of years to players of the Lord Marquis of Exeter, to those of Lincoln, Wigan, Holland, Sleaford, Derbyshire, Doncaster, Newark, Lynn, to the Queen's troupe, Lady Suffolk's, Lord Shandone's (Shannon's?), Lord Berkley's, Lord Dudley's, Lord Mounteagle's, to the Children of Newark, and to many other troupes which

[13] *Grimsthorpe House Papers*, 463 *et seq.*

[14] *Mss. of Duke of Rutland*, 4, 270 *et seq.*

weren't named specifically. These illustrations are perfectly characteristic of all households; further evidence, however, of the great prevalence of this kind of entertainment is offered in the exact schedule of player rewards drawn up by the 5th Earl of Northumberland for observance in his establishment: "ITEM My Lorde usith and accustometh to gif yerely when his Lordshipp is at home to every Erlis Players that comes to his Lordschipe bitwixt Cristynmas ande Candlemas If he be his speciall Lorde and Frende ande Kynsman — xxs." and again, with due observance of relative merit: "ITEM My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely when his Lordship is at home to every Lordis Players that comyth to his Lordschipe betwixt Cristynmas and Candilmas — xs."

The Children of the Chapel of this nobleman, furthermore, were practised in the performance of religious pieces at least; they received xxs ". . . if they doo play the Play of the Nativitie uppon Cristynmes-Day in the mornnynge in my Lords Chapell befor his Lordship." They received the same fee for enacting the play of the Resurrection upon Easter morning, and shared with the other servant performers a x s. bonus for ". . . the Play befor his Lordship uppon Shroftewsday at night. . ." The Christmas plays in this household were under the management of his Grace's Master of the Revels, whose pay was xxs ". . . for the overseyinge and orderinge of his Lordships Playes Interludes and Dresinge that is plaid befor his Lordschips in his Hous in the xijth Dayes of Cristenmas. . ."[15]

Beside this director of the season's dramatic activities, an Abbot of Misrule also held sway for the earl over the Holiday festivities in general and was rewarded with xxs. like the Master of the Revels, for his efforts.[16]

It is delightful to record that most of the entertainment of the day was graced with an accompaniment of that "commendable sweete science," music, as Brathwait well calls it. Every household had its "musitianers," some of whose pleasant services have already been observed. They had other duties, however, full as

[15] *Northumberland Household Book*, 339 *et seq.*

[16] Bishop Percy, the editor of the *Northumberland Household Book*, says that the Abbot of Misrule was probably the same personage who was later called the Lord of Misrule, after the time of the Reformation, when the word Abbot had an ill sound.

dainty as their play at feasts and upon journeys, one of which was their joyous heralding in of the New Year, done at the chamber door of the master of the household, early in the morning, and then, in turn at the bed-room doors of the members of the family. The 5th Earl of Northumberland records his bounden requital of these aubades with his usual exactness:—"ITEM My Lorde usith ande accustomyth to gyfe yerly when his Lordshipp is at home to his Mynstraills that be daly in his Houshold as his Tabret Lute ande Rebek upon New-Yeares-Day in the mornynge when they doo play at my Lordis Chambre doure for his Lordschipe and my Lady xxs. Viz. xiijs.iiijd. for my Lorde and vjs.viiijd. for my Lady if sche be at my Lordis fyndynge and not at hir owen And for playinge at my Lordis sone and heir Chaumbre doure the Lord Percy ijs. And for playinge at the Chaumbre doures of my Lords Yonger Sonnes my Yonge Maisters after viijd. the pece for every of them — xxiijs.iiijd."[17]

Brathwait notes another common duty of the household musicians — "They are to teach the Earle's children to singe and play upon the Base Violl, the Virginalls, Lute, Bandora or Citerne."[18] In all households, in fact, teaching their art was probably no small part of the musician's work. At Belvoir, Lady Frances Manners was taught the guitar, and earlier, her ladyship in that household probably knew the lute, as an outlay of £3:7s. for a lute, a lute book and a set of song books would seem to imply; at one time, his lordship played upon the viol too.[19]

At Wallaton, Francis, nephew of the Willoughby's, was taught to sing,[20] and payments were recorded for lessons on the virginals. Not infrequently also, likely talent in some member of the household force perhaps, or even in one outside the establishment, attracted the attention of some member of a nobleman's family, and forthwith a jocund philanthropy urged instruction for its development. At Belvoir, for example, little Richard, my lady's Page, was taught to play upon the lute,[21]

[17] *Northumberland Household Book*, 343-344. Similar payments were made in all households.

[18] Brathwait, 44.

[19] *Mss. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 532, 432.

[20] *Mss. of Lord Middleton*, 412, 413, 414.

[21] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 381.

and the Steward of Lord John Howard of Norfolk noted, "Item, the same day my Lord made comenaunte with Willm Wastell, of London, harper, that he shall have the sone of John Colet of Colchester, harper, for a yere, to teche hym to harpe and to synge, for the whiche techynge my Lord shall geve hym xiij.s. iiij.d. and a gown; wherof my Lord toke hym in ernest vj.s. viij.d. And at the ende of the yere he shall have the remenaunt, and is gown; and he is bound be endentur to my Lord to performe this comenauntes before wretyn." [22]

There was, in truth, a remarkable zest for music among the Tudor nobility; their household books abound with expense items noting the purchase of all manner of musical gear — instruments, materials for their equipment, costs for their repair, songs, anthems, all the cheerful paraphernalia needed in its performance. These items are constantly recurring, and some of them, especially those of the purchase of instruments, were often quite large. At Belvoir, for example, in 1602, a harp was bought, costing £8, and a viol da gamba costing £4, while an organ installed in 1620, a much more elaborate instrument certainly than those in the Chapel of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, cost £55, and was paid for in installments! [23]

The great taste for music among the nobility was in large part gratified too, as was their enthusiasm for dramatics, by the performances of skilled musicians of all kinds, who, like their brothers of the stage, toured the country, stopping for brief sojourns at the great houses of the nobles, especially during the Holiday season, all of whom were eager to exercise their pretty skill for the ever coveted pittance.

Away back in the early day, Lord John Howard, at this place Stoke, in Suffolk, was visited from time to time by the Lord of Kent's Minstrels, The Trumpets of the Lord of Glocester, Lady Norfolk's Minstrels, My Lord of Glocester's Shalms, Lord Make's Minstrels, the Minstrels of Colchester, Thos. Stokes, Min-

[22] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 300-301. Music was not always reserved for feasts and entertainments only; in the household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, it is noteworthy that in the servant attendance ordained for the Great Chamber for the evening, there were two minstrel yeomen waiters!

[23] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 434, 516.

strel of Hadley, Thos. Gardener, Minstrel of Hersted, and other wandering artists whose names are forever lost.[24] Still more varied and picturesque lists than this might be made up for the other great houses like Belvoir, or Grimsthorpe; but the prevalence of these tours by different performers is best illustrated again, as was the case with the players, by the accurate regulations of the 5th Earl of Northumberland regarding them: "ITEM My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyfe yerly to every Erlis Mynstrellis when they custome to come to hym yerely iijs. iiijd. Ande if they come to my Lord seldome ones in ij or iij yeres then vis.viijd. — vi s. viijd." The "Kyngs Shames" received for their yearly performance xs., and every ". . . Dookes or Erlis Trumpetts if they com vj together to his Lordshipp Viz. if they come yerly vjs.viijd. ande if they come but in ij or iij Yeres than — xs." [25]

At a later date the amounts laid out on Christmas music were very much greater than the sums disbursed by this old Yorkshire house. At Belvoir, in the early 17th century, £6:13s:4d. was a common payment, through a series of years, for that part of the festivities.[26]

Withal, however, the age was a propitious one for music and musicians. The 5th Earl of Northumberland paid his Taborette player £4 a quarter — as much as his Dean of the Chapel received, and the salaries per quarter of the other Minstrels — the lute and rebec players, viz. 33s:4d. compare very favorably with the stipends of the other household servitors.[27] Music, in short was an indispensable, fine commodity, and one of the bookkeepers for the Willoughby's at Wallaton neatly illustrated the fact when he entered the purchase of a virginal among the "Necessaries of House" in his accounts! [28]

In brief conclusion regarding amusements. Many noblemen in the Tudor period were very cultured men, and derived no little pleasure and profit from the purchase and study of Mss. and books which they stored in their libraries. All houses had their

[24] *Howard Household Books* (Collier), 107, 116, 142, 145, 207, 216, 294, 336, 340, etc.

[25] *Northumberland Household Book*, 339, 341.

[26] *MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, 4, 504, 514, 523, etc.

[27] *Northumberland Household Book*, 46 *et seq.*

[28] *Mss. of Lord Middleton*, 397.

libraries, and some castles had several; Leckinfield, for example, one of the fortified residences of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, contained two libraries reserved for his Grace, one of them probably a little cabinet, as it is described as having been "over the Chapell Dour," and my Lady's library. To all of these rooms fuel allowances were made in winter, even when his Grace wasn't abiding at the castle. The large library of Earl Percy was probably tastefully embellished for its day; the industrious and observant Leland, who described the Castle in his Itinerary, says that several of the apartments were inscribed on the walls or the roofs, and among the rooms so decorated was the earl's library; "The Proverbis in the Roufe of my Lordis Library at Lekyngfelde" contained twenty stanzas of four lines, of which the following, with its budget of sage advice is one: —

> To every tale geve thou no credens.
> Prove the cause, or thou gyve sentens.
> Agayn the right make no dyffens
> So hast thou a clene Consciens.[29]

Regarding the purchase of books, Brathwait's advice to noblemen in the matter is interesting as reflecting the taste of a contemporary cultured gentleman, and probably of noblemen themselves, as he evidently founded most of what he said upon observation of actual conditions. He is writing concerning the keeping of books of payments, which he would have divided into different categories to suit different purchases made, and one of these categories should be "Bookes bought" — "Vnder this title," he goes on, "are to be set downe all bookes, papers, parchement, wax, standishes, Inkehornes, Inkepottes, Inkedust, and boxes, Incke, Pennes, and Quilles, etc. And here I doe wish the Earle not to be sparing of his purse, but to have a faire Library, furnished with bookes both of Divinitye and Philosophy, Astrology, Cosmography, Lawe, Arte of Warr, Heraldry; but especially to be furnished with bookes Historicall, both concerning the Church, and also all Countryes and Commonwealthes, with Globes, Cards, and Mappes; and, as leasure will serve, to exercise himselfe in reading and perusing of them." [30]

As a matter of fact there was a good deal of book-buying

[29] *Northumberland Household Book*, 461-462.

[30] Brathwait, 49.

among the noblemen, as their household books, inventories of goods, and catalogues of libraries will attest. Sir William Fairfax, who lived in the latter half of the 16th century, left, among the inventories of his other household goods "A note of all my Bookes Remayning at Gillinge." The little catalogue lists some thirty-nine volumes classified by their owner into three groups — "Latten," "ffrench" and "Inglish." The titles may not have constituted the complete library at this one residence — Gilling, but even if they did, they were sufficiently interesting, and cast a very pleasant light on the gentler interests of this illustrious heir of a famous house.

The different works cover a variety of subjects; those in Latin included the Meditations of St. Augustine, a New Testament, the Biblia Magna Jeronomi, together with the latter's Promptuarium, some Chronicles, and a work entitled Praedium Rusticum. The French works were more numerous and varied — Livy, Tacitus, Caesar's Commentaries, Svetone Tranquille de la vie des xij Caesars, Machiavelli's Discourses, the Philocopius of Boccaccio, "Le tierce part de Afrique," "La description de tous les Pays-Bas," and then, amidst this solid stuff of the ages — "Le guidon des parens en instruccon de leurs E (enfants?)," Le Peregrin, and last, but probably by no means least, in the estimate of some of the members in the household anyhow, an exceedingly popular book "Le Thresor des livres Damades de Gaull" and "Le dis 1me Livre Damadis de Gaule." Among the English titles were the classics Plutarch, Froissart, Chaucer and Hollinshed, together with a curious assortment including "Sir Roger Williams' booke," probably "A Brief Discourse of War" by the famous Welsh soldier, chiefly of Low Country fame — a work simply styled "Appian," doubtless the History of Appian of Alexandria — a famous controversial work of the day, Fulke's Testament, entered in his catalogue by Fairfax as "Fulks answere to Rehms testament," the meaning of which becomes apparent on noting the complete title of the old book — "The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the Vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes . . . with a confutation of all such arguments, Glasses, and Annotations, as conteine manifest impietie." London, 1589.; a work called "The French Academy," John Nichols pilgrimage,

and then the quaint titles "A perfect plote of a hope garden." "A summons for slepers," "Pathway to Martiall disciplyne," "A booke of hawkyn," "A Register of all the gentlemens arms yn great chamber," and some others difficult to identify.[31]

A far more interesting and important collection than this just noted, was the splendid library of Mss. and printed books, assembled by Lord William Howard at his principal residence Naworth Castle. Howard was a writer and an antiquarian of ability; when a young man he published an edition of Florence of Worcester's Chronicle which he dedicated to Lord Burghley;[32] he was the personal friend and co-worker of Cotton and Camden, and certainly an indefatigable lover and collector of books. The catalogues of Mss. which he had at Naworth embrace sixty-five titles of works on a variety of subjects, many written in Latin — poetry, history, biography, works on legal and medical subjects, on heraldry, family documents, miscellaneous pieces like "A Declaration of the Receipts of the Treasury of England from Mich. 1604 to Easter following," political writings like "Arguments for Ship money; Pro. and Con." and a mass of theological and religious writing. Many of these manuscripts probably were beautifully executed too, for after some of their titles the cataloguer has written "Liber elegans et ornatus." In addition to this large collection of Mss., now long since scattered, a catalogue of books and Mss. also owned by this remarkable man, and still preserved at Naworth, contains two hundred and forty-two titles of works on theological, controversial, historical, legal, classical and miscellaneous subjects, the entire catalogue filling some seventeen large octavo pages.[33]

Information of this same sort could be gleaned from most household account books; for book and Mss. buying and reading were much practised interests among the noblemen of the Tudor period. It is very noteworthy also, that many of books which noblemen bought were by contemporary writers, so that if all noblemen read as carefully as Lord William Howard's annotated pages proclaim that he did, they must have been an alert and well-informed part of the population.

31 *Catalogues*, etc., in *Archaeologia*, 48-1, 152-153.

32 *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, Preface, lxii.

33 *Ibid.*, 470 *et seq.*

With these very brief notes on a subject well worthy of a complete and careful study, I bid farewell to my noble householders and their faithful book-keepers. How widely, I wonder, have I mistaken their ancient doings! This I can affirm, that my study of their household accounts, which reflect so faithfully their domestic life in all its interesting phases, has bred in me a very great admiration, nay, a warm feeling of affection for the once vigorous and ever illustrious men of the Tudor Nobility, truly a stalwart and a mighty race! Despite this, though, I alas! like my beloved friend Richard Brathwait, would gladly consign my painful work to a well-deserved oblivion, fearfully, out-of-hand, as he attempted to do in his very self-abnegating coda, winding up his remarkable little treatise: "As in the beginning I protested I had neither president nor recorde to followe, so doe I now further affirme (and that moste trulye) that in my time I have not seene any, and so may you guesse by this my worthlesse worke, which is so harsh and unpleasante that I thincke you will be as weary in the reading as I of the writing, but if you be, blame yourselfe; for as I entend not to maintaine errours committed, noe more will I excuse faultes escaped, and as it is private for yourself so make it not publicke to my disgrace."![34]

[34] Brathwait, 50.

APPENDIX A

SIR THOMAS LOVELL'S SERVANTS IN 1522

(Extracts from Household Accounts, Hist. Mss. Com., *Mss. of the Duke of Rutland*, vol. 4, pp. 260-262.)

Among the chief officials are a Receiver, an "out Steward" of all the lands in York, a house Steward, an Auditor, and with these one "Robert Roth, of Endfeld, esquyre, reteigned of councell," who was hired for that year at least.

Chapleyns —
Sir Cuthbert Lyghtefote, prest
Sir Henry Sperke, prest
Sir Henry Smyth, prest
Gentylmen Wayters —
(There are ten named.)
"Offycers"
Clerke of the kechyn
Yoman of the celler
Ussher of the hall
Yoman of the botry — 2
Catour
Yoman of the lardour
Cooke — 3
Squyllyon
Harsteller (ostler)
Turnour of the broches
Keper of the garner
Baker — 3
Brewer
Underbrewer
Yoman of your warderobe
Grome of the warderobe
Portour
Slawterman and maker of your talow candelles for lightes
Keper of your wodde and coole
Yomen wayters — 16

Servantes exercising their faculteis –
Fawkener — 2
Hunte (huntsman)
Warner (warrener)
Orgonpleyer
Keper of the beiberne and sumpterhors
Keper of your gardeyn
Carpenter
Joynour
Browderer
Armourer
Carpetmaker
Hedgeer
Cowper
Mylner
Shepperde
Keper of the Deyery groundes
Attending on the children — 1
Wafermaker
Horsekepers — 6
Carters and laborers — 7
Keper of the deyery and her 2 servauntes, lawnderers
Keper of the pulletrye
At Haliwell —
Margaret Fisher, keeper of your place there
Nicholas Bemond, gardner.

SERVANTS OF THE EARL OF RUTLAND IN 1539

Op. cit., p. 296 *et seq.*

Treasorer
Comptroller
Gentylwomen wayters — 6 regularly and 3 others at times
Chapelyns — 4, and in two quarters 1 other
Fyzytyon — Doctor Gwynne (name cancelled in this quarter; in the 3 other quarters without any fee).
Potycares — Maister (blank in all quarters).
Secretores — 1
Gentylmen Ussers — 2
Gentylmen Waters — 9 and 1 added in 3 quarters.
Scole Masters — 1
Clerks of the Kichen — 3, and in 3 quarters — 2.
Yeomen Ushers — 2
Yemen Waters of the Chambur — 8
Gromes of the Chamber — 5
Seller — 2
Pantre — 2
Buttre — 3, at times.
Ewerye — 1
Ussers of the Halle — 2
Warderope — 5
Mynstrelles — 2
Porters — 2
Bakers — 5, apparently not all on at once.
Bruers — 3, not all at one time.
Stable — 7, not all at once.
Yemen Cokes — 2
Gromes of the Kichen — 4
Lardermen — 2
Aumers — 1 (Almoners)
Scullerye — 1
Gardyners — 2
(Armerers — 1)
Huntes — 1
Caters — 1
Waryners — 1 (warreners)
Kepers of Hay — 2
Slaughtermen — 1
(Smythe — 1)
Cowpers
Sheperdes — 3
Bargemen — 1
Women of the Laundre — 5
Dare Women — 1
Pultre Women
Kepers of Hallywell — 1
Kepers of Pastures — 3
Myllers — 1
Maser Scowrers — 2 (Mazers, i.e. wooden bowls)
Joners — 2 (joiners)
(Waterdrawers — 1)
(Glaysers — 2)
(Carpynters — 1, and servant)
(Carters — 2)
(Tillers — 1)
(Surgyons — 1)

SUMMARY OF RICHARD BERTIE'S HOUSEHOLD IN 1560-62

Extracts from his Household Books, printed in Hist. Mss. Com. *Report on the Mss. of the Earl of Ancaster*, 1907, pp. 459-60.

The Master; his Lady, the Countess; the Children — Mr. Peregrine and Mistress Susan, and the Lady Elinor. Among the servants were the following: Steward, Comptroller, Preach-

er, Cofferer, A Master of Horses, Gentlemen Ushers, Gentlemen Waiters, Clerk of the Provisions, Father Fryer — yeoman of the Cellar, Anthony Pigott — butler, A Pantler, yeomen ushers, grooms, yeomen of the wardrobe, cooks, children of the kitchen, Grooms of the stable, gentlemen servants and a number of gentlemen, and women servants.

SUMMARY OF HENRY EARL OF WORCESTER'S SERVANTS

(From a description by an old servant, written in 1694, ". . . to the best of my personal remembrance." Hist. Mss. Com., 12th Report, Pt. 9, pp. 5 *et seq.*

Steward, the Duke's Tutor, Comptroller, Auditor and Secretary, Master of Horse. His gentlemen waiters and pages. His Clerk of the Kitchen, and Yeomen Officers of the house — Groom of the Chamber, Ushers of the Hall, etc. (This list is necessarily incomplete, for it is compiled from this old servant's description of the way dinner used to be served in the house, and his emphasis is not on the servants.)

APPENDIX B

THE ESSENTIAL SERVANTS IN THE HOUSEHOLD OF A NOBLEMAN

as seen in "A Breviate Touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman's House," etc. 1605. *Archaeologia* xiii, pp. 315 *et seq.*

The head officers are Steward, Comptroller, Surveyor, Receiver, and Auditor. In the rank and file are the Gentleman Usher, the Gentleman of the Horse, a Learned Steward, the Clerk of the Kitchen, Yeoman Usher of the Great Chamber, and one of the Hall, and the other customary Yeomen — Ewery, Cellar, Pantry, Buttery, Wardrobe, Horse, Caskes, Larder, Garner, Yeoman Porter, Baker, Brewer, Yeoman of the Scullery, and finally, a Cator, or Caterer, and a Slaughterman. This list is also incomplete for there is no mention of cooks, for example.

APPENDIX C

OF BREADS USED BY THE ENGLISH NOBILITY

Harrison describes the English Breads of his day as follows: "The bread through out the land is made of such graine as the soile yeeldeth, neuerthelesse the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselues sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilest their household and poore neighbours in some shires are inforced to content themselues with rie, or barleie, yea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither and some acornes among, of which scourge the poorest does soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide of better. . . Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to table, whereof the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread . . . and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen, and six ounces out, as I haue been informed. The second is the cheat or wheaton bread, so named bicause the colour therof resembleth the graie or yellowish wheat, being cleane and well dressed, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne dooth beare) and by a statute prouided by king Iohn in that behalfe. The raueled cheat therfore is generallie so made out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran sifted and taken from it (wherevnte they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lofe weigh-

ing eighteen ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out; and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eie, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminished. . . The other hath little or no floure at all, . . . and it is not onlie the woorst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon. Herevnto likewise, bicause it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handsomelie into loaues) some adde a portion of rie meale in our time, wherby the rough drinesse or the drie roughness therof is somewhat qualified, & then it is named misclin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerse doo sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name." — Holinshed, Vol. 1, pp. 283-284.

In 1469, George, Duke of Clarence issued the following rule to his bakers: "ITEM, It is appoynted that there be in the bake-house a yeoman, a groome, and a page; and that they bake daily, . . . payne-mayneys at every second daye, manchete brede and rounde brede for housholde, proportionably to the numbyr of the same; and that they make of every bushell of whete xxx lofes, weyinge to the ovyn xxx ounces, and well baken xxviii ounces of goode paste; and halfe that weight for small breade for leyvereyes; takinge alweye twoe payne-maynes, and twoe manchettes, for the lofe; and that they be ready to bake brede for horses and houndes, the branne alweye reserved to that use of the said Duke; alsoe, that the seid brede be wayed in the counting-house, as ofte as it shall be nedeful; and if the weights or the paste be not sufficiaunte, then the tresspassoures to be punished after theire desertes." — *Household Ordinances*, pp. 91-92.

In the latter half of the 16th century, Edward, Earl of Derby's bread receipts were these: —

"BREADE viz.

"Of a Pecke of Wheate & lieke quantitie of Barly mingled to-

Of a Pecke of Wheat & lieke quantitie of Barly mingled together there is made of household breade xxxti caste conteyning threescore loffes. IT'M of every mette of fyne wheate made in Manchetts there is fyve score coste of manchets conteyning tenscore manchettes.

"DREDGE viz.

"Of every Windle or mette of wheate baken in grate loffes for Dredge to the Kitchen there is made Sixe loffes." — *Stanley Papers*, Part 2, p. 12.

In 1512, the Earl of Northumberland ordered "horse-bread" baked from beans, one quarter of which made one hundred and seventy-two loaves. His bread for household was made after the following proportions: — "ITEM it is Ordered ande Agreide by my Lorde his Heed Officers ande Counsaill that the Baker shall Aunswarr my Lorde of every Quarter of Wheet in Manchetts DCXL after ij Maunchetts to a Loof Of household Breed cciiij score ande of Trenchor Breed cciiij score bicause the Loofs of the Trenchor Breed be larger than the Loofs of Household Breed." — *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 122-123, 134.

Richard Brathwait describes the duties of the Yeoman Baker thus: "The Yeoman Baker should be skilfull in his occupation, to make his manchet and bonnes white, light, well seasoned, and crusted; his sippet breade in high loaves, set in the oven close together, that on the sides they may have little or noe crust, and as small bottomes and toppes as may be, for they are to be cutt into sippets and to dredge meat withall, the crustes onely serve to increase the Pantlers fees. He is to make cheate bread of three sortes; fine cheat, middle cheate, and course cheate; every of these is to be well leavened, kneaded, moulded, and baked: for if the baker will not take paines in his kneading and moulding, though the Corne be good, the bread will be nought. He and the groome must be skilfull and carefull in heating the Ovens, for if they be either too hott or too slacke, the paines they have taken in kneading and moulding, by the ill baking, will be disgraced. . ." — Brathwait, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

APPENDIX D

FRESH ACATES

In 1512, the Earl of Northumberland provided for the purchase throughout the year of the following "cates" or "Fresh Acates" —

Capon, pigs, geese, chickens, hens, pidgeons, conies, swans, plovers, crains, heronsews, mallards, teals, woodcocks, wipes, seagulls, stints, quails, snipes, partridges, redshanks, bitterns, feasants reys, scolards, kerlews, peacocks, wild-fowls, sea-pies, wegions, knots, dotterells, bustard, terns, great birds, small birds, larks, bacon flicks, eggs and milk. — *Household Book*, 102-108.

Fresh Acates at Wallaton in 1523, included the following items: —

Fish, including conger and porpoise, river fish, mussels, cockels, oysters, crabs, mustard, bread, honey, raisins, figs, almonds, eggs, chickens, sparrows, vinegar, wine, ale, pigeons, capons, wood-cocks, etc. — *Mss. of Lord Middleton*, 362.

In 1612, Lord William Howard of Naworth, purchased the following cates, his purchases running right through the year: —

Fowls, eggs, salmon, moorcock, mallards, stockdoves, blackcock, hares, woodcock, pigs, herrings, cockles, leeks, trout, shrimps, thornbacks, fresh cod, lobster, crabs, lambs, veal head and feet, kid, a side of mutton, teals, sturgeon, curlew, throsells, butter, geese, seal, plovers, lapwings, ducks, porpoise, young salmon, flounders, whitings, eels, turbot, bret (a fish like turbot), ringdoves, sheldrakes, wimeons, teal, dowcker, godwits, redshanks, sea-pies, cheese, etc. — *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, 20 *et seq.*

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manners and customs, in a delightful way. He was, he says, above three-score years of age when he wrote the piece, and according to one of his biographers, it was not printed during Brathwait's life. The author was born in 1588 and died in 1673. See, for an interesting account of the man and his work, the Barnabae Itinerarium, new edition, revised, by W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1876.

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